THE REFORMATION PERIOD

HENRY GEE

SIGILL. SCHOLAE RELIGIONIS PACIFICAE
CONDITA AD 1904
PRO
VERITATE
ET
REGNO
DEI
CHARLES HOLBROOK LIBRARY
Pacific School of Religion

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Graduate Theological Union

https://archive.org/details/reformationperio04unse

HANDBOOKS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

General Editor:

JOHN HENRY BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

HANDBOOKS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH (to A.D. 800). By J. H. MAUDE, M.A.

II. THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST (A.D. 800-1135). By C. T. CRUTTWELL, M.A.

III. THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AND THE PAPACY (A.D. 1135-1485). By A. C. JENNINGS, M.A.

IV. THE REFORMATION PERIOD (A.D. 1485-1603). By HENRY GEE, D.D.

V. THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM (A.D. 1603-1702). By BRUCE BLAXLAND, M.A.

VI. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

BY

HENRY GEE, D.D., F.S.A.

MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM

Property of
CDPac
Please return to
Graduate Theological
Union Library

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

PUBLICATION COPY

BR
743
H3
v.4

44938

L972
G27-

First Published in 1909

91B587

PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

THE initial impulse to undertake the task of editing this series was given me, so far back as 1897, by the late Dr Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. He was good enough to suggest the names of some of the writers whom I should invite to collaborate; and he drew up what he called "a rough scheme," of which the following is a modification.

I. The Foundations of the English Church (to A.D. 800).
II. The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Norman Conquest (A.D. 800-1135).
III. The Mediæval Church and the Papacy (A.D. 1135-1485).
IV. The Reformation Period (A.D. 1485-1603).
V. The Struggle with Puritanism (A.D. 1603-1702).
VI. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.

The names of the six scholars, who have accepted the invitation to contribute to this series, are a sufficient guarantee that the work is conceived in no narrow spirit of partisanship, but with the earnest desire to do justice to all parties, whether religious or political. The Editor has thought it right to allow to each writer the utmost freedom of treatment consistent with

the general plan of the series. If here and there this has resulted in some slight divergence of view between one volume and another, he believes that it will prove rather advantageous than detrimental to the utility of the work; for much would be lost, and very little gained, by preventing a writer from giving free expression to his own view of the facts, and of the inferences to be drawn from them.

J. H. BURN

The Parsonage
Ballater

PREFACE

IN this brief account of the Reformation Movement in England, the line taken has been first to picture the Church in the reign of Henry VII.; next to describe the great forces that began to tell upon it in the early part of the sixteenth century; and finally to show how the Church was modified by the action of these and other agencies as that century wore on to its close. My treatment of the subject lacks proportion, for it seemed better to deal more minutely with the various alterations in the earlier reigns, and then to describe in rather summary fashion the Elizabethan Settlement with the attacks which were made upon it.

I have to thank one or two friends who have read my manuscript. To them is due not a little useful suggestion. In particular I have to thank Mr Tomlinson, whose marvellously minute knowledge of the period has saved me from some errors. I do not always agree with his conclusions, but this does not prevent me from recognising the fact that he possesses a familiarity with the documents of the Reformation era in England which no living historian surpasses.

I think I may say that I have honestly endeavoured to base this small work upon original authorities. Where my judgment has been guided or specially confirmed by modern writers my debt has been acknowledged in the footnotes.

Nowhere is it more important that the reader should be referred to original documents than in the study of the Reformation. I have ventured, therefore, to refer constantly to the collection of 'Documents illustrative of English Church History,' which I drew up some years ago with my friend Mr W. J. Hardy, under the supervision of Bishop Stubbs. Where it seemed desirable to consult other texts the reference has been given.

If the allusions to the Palatinate of Durham seem to be numerous the reader will, I trust, bear in mind that, as the chapters were largely written under the shadow of Durham Cathedral and Castle, some local colouring was almost inevitable.

The Castle, Durham
St Bartholomew's Day, 1909

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR . . . v

PREFACE vii

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY TUDOR CHURCH 1

CHAPTER II

THE NEED OF A REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH . 19

CHAPTER III

THE APPEARING OF NEW FORCES 33

CHAPTER IV

A QUARREL WITH ROME BEGINS 52

CHAPTER V

EARLY YEARS OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT . 66

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF TERROR, 1534-1540 . . . 82

CHAPTER VII

THE DOCTRINAL REFORMATION 97

CHAPTER VIII

A REACTION SETS IN 111

PAGE

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK . . . 130

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK, AND THE ARTICLES . 150

CHAPTER XI

MARY'S FIRST ACT OF REPEAL 171

CHAPTER XII

MARY'S SECOND ACT OF REPEAL 188

CHAPTER XIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH 207

CHAPTER XIV

THE ROMANIST ATTACK UPON THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION 229

CHAPTER XV

THE PURITANS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION . 242

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH 252

INDEX 258

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY TUDOR CHURCH

WE now think imperially, and whenever the name of England comes before us we regard her instinctively as the heart of a vast empire upon which the sun never sets. At the end of the fifteenth century England was a very small country, united again after fifty years of civil warfare, but at the best imperfectly united, and somewhat insignificant. She had no foreign connexion when Henry VII. came to the throne, for all her continental prestige and possessions (save Calais) had been shorn away in the humiliating reign of Henry VI. Over the neighbouring territories she had a varying and uncertain hold. Scotland, which in an earlier century had been brought into some kind of vassalage to the crown of England, was now a kingdom apart, and very frequently hostile. Over Ireland a shadowy authority existed, which Henry VII. and Henry VIII. made far more substantial, though even they failed to make it complete and permanent. Wales, reduced by Edward I. and reconquered by Henry IV., settled down with increasing unanimity under the Welsh House of Tudor, and gradually became an integral part of the kingdom. The Church in Scotland and the Church in Ireland, resembling the Church of England in general aspect and organisation, were

entirely independent of it, and went their way in general ignorance of what passed in England. The Church of Wales had come into nominal dependence upon the See of Canterbury as far back as the early twelfth century, but it was not until the fifteenth century that the connexion was really maintained.

When we try to form some kind of picture to represent the Church as it was in this small England in early Tudor days, we find much that is familiar, and very much that is unfamiliar to the twentieth century. Its general framework and organisation need little explanation to the present-day Churchman, because they still exist after the lapse of four centuries very much as they were then. The field of the Church's operations was divided into the two ancient provinces of Canterbury and York, the former comprising fourteen dioceses and the latter four. The boundaries of the dioceses were not in every case as they are now, for Durham included Northumberland, as indeed it did until 1882; the huge diocese of Lincoln contained Oxford; Worcester comprised Bristol; and London part of what is now St Albans. The dioceses were divided into archdeaconries, very much as they still are, and the archdeaconries embraced various rural deaneries, and these in turn were made up of a number of different parishes. The general scheme, then, was much the same, though modification has gone on since as regards the number and boundaries of the various dioceses, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and individual parishes.

The outward and visible sign of the Church which confronted the ordinary Churchman was then, as now, the parish church, that epitome of the religious life of the neighbourhood. Built, perhaps, in the first in-

stance by some lord of the manor, the sacred building bore the impress of all the intervening centuries, and in its carefully planned construction was intended to be the 'bible of the poor,' and to teach the eye the faith of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. So it stood in the midst of the village, or the town, shaped usually in the form of a cross, with its font near the entrance, and its altar at the east end surmounted by the symbol of the Cross. Of its furniture we shall come to speak more particularly farther on in our story,[1] but one or two things may be said here. It will readily be imagined, for instance, that the parish churches varied greatly in appointment. Some Churchmen were liberal and well-affected towards the Church, and others were less generous then as now, so that fittings and decoration and care bestowed upon the fabric were very different in different places. Yet, speaking generally, it is probable that the parish church was an object of real interest to the inhabitants, and that its support and upkeep were not widely left to the parish clergyman, or to some wealthy magnate living near. Bequests were constantly made to the Church in wills, and the living were not generally slow to give aid in money and in manual work to the needs of the edifice.

Whilst the church was to some extent the pride of the parish, the cathedral was the centre of the Church life of the diocese. Sometimes monastic, as at Canterbury, St Paul's, and Durham ; sometimes secular, as at York, Wells, and Salisbury, these magnificent buildings often traced their history back to the first beginnings of Christianity in the district, or, at all events, to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when nearly every cathedral in England was rebuilt. Whilst

[1] See pp. 159, 219.

the parish churches were usually the work of unknown or forgotten builders, the cathedral churches perpetuated the memory of great bishops and others who had planned them at first or modified them in later days. In their noble architecture they pictured the characteristics and aspirations of the centuries which had weathered the stones of the outer fabric, whilst within they were a treasure-house of the interests and devotions of the people.

It is impossible to describe here the Church services. We can, from the service-books that have come down to us, form an accurate conception of what the offices were like for the Mass and for the daily services, as well as for the occasional offices like baptism, and so forth; but it is not possible to give a consistent and probable account of the performance of these services in rural districts. In monastic churches the celebration of the Mass and the recitation of the various services at fixed hours went on with careful regularity, and we may presume that the same statement holds good of the larger churches in towns. It may, however, be questioned whether in remote country districts the parish priest said even matins and evensong daily, much less the other offices of the complete round of prayer and praise which the medieval Church had framed. Doubtless the Sunday Mass was the great service in the village, whilst in the town as many as would might be present at daily Mass.

Convocation is a fairly familiar name to most Church people to-day, but it is probably little more. The same assertion is true of Convocation in the fifteenth century, although its powers were much greater than they are now, and could be felt in a variety of enactments which the clergy had to carry out. The two

houses of Canterbury and York met then much as they do now, and with the same kind of procedure to govern their operations. The Convocation of South and North was first of all the provincial synod called together at irregular intervals to consider the Church affairs of the province, and to discuss any ecclesiastical affairs which might be submitted to it. In this way the question of heresy, or matters connected with the condition of the clergy were debated, and canons were passed defining the decision of the synod upon these things. Opportunity was taken at these assemblies to vote a subsidy on behalf of the clergy towards any royal demand for taxation, but such finance was by no means the only or the usual reason for summoning a meeting of Convocation. Its chief business was always the well-being of the Church, and its influence was widely felt in the regulations that it formulated.[1]

Church courts, which still exist in a modified shape, were a very real institution. They had a wide jurisdiction over the clergy, who were constantly cited to appear before the archdeacon or some other officer in his spiritual capacity. They had also a considerable authority over the lay people. All matters connected with marriage and with wills were then in the hands of the clergy, and so it constantly came to pass that suits arose in connexion with these, and a great deal of litigation ensued. Questions also came up in regard to tithes and other payments due to the clergy, and these had, as a rule, to be settled in Church courts. Other minor points, like cases of slander or defamation of character, came up for regulation before the same tribunals, and the cognisance of immorality belonged to them in like manner. The chief weapon of the

[1] See Stubbs, 'Constitutional History,' ii. 200.

ecclesiastical courts was excommunication, the aid of the sheriff of the county being called in sometimes if the person sentenced refused to submit. It is generally considered that the action of the Church courts was inclined to be arbitrary and intrusive, so that the whole system was regarded with disfavour by the people in general.

The ordinary officers of the Church were very much as they are now. At the one end of the scale were the parochial clergy, who doubtless varied greatly in ability, spirituality, and learning. They merit neither wholesale condemnation nor wholesale praise. They dwelt quietly among their own people, fulfilled their functions with greater or less assiduity, and on the whole did what was expected of them. It is easy to point to sarcasm or to censure levelled against them, or to convict them out of the mouth of their own order, but whilst human nature is what it is some portion of any body of men will always deserve rebuke, and there will always be those who are ready to upbraid. It is not true to say that the clergy as a body were unpopular[1] at the end of the fifteenth century; any outcry raised against them is far too occasional and intermittent to prove a deep-seated and consistent antipathy towards them. Above the rank and file of the clergy were the bishops, who were rather prelates and potentates than pastors and spiritual guides. They were men of high personal character, and in no few instances were leaders of pronounced ability. Their duties were almost as much secular as spiritual. The Archbishop of Canterbury stood next to the royal family in precedence, as

[1] In proof of some unpopularity at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., see Pollard's 'Henry VIII.,' p. 234; *cf.* pp. 251-2, 266-7, 271, 320

he still stands, and was as a rule a most trusted adviser and counsellor on all matters of State. The Archbishop of York, though by right and history the head of the Northern Province, was often eclipsed by the Bishop of Durham, who came in Norman times to inherit the power of the ancient Earls of Northumbria, and to rule as a king in his Palatinate. The rest of the bishops were likewise much occupied in secular business connected with the administration of their dioceses, and in constant attendance at Parliament, or at the king's council. And yet the late medieval bishops exercised some control over the laity, not so much in their administration of the sacrament of Confirmation,[1] as in their visitations from time to time when they made inquiry into moral offences and subjected the guilty to spiritual penance of various kinds.

If all these elements in the Church at the end of the fifteenth century are fairly familiar, there are others which are unfamiliar to modern Englishmen, except as they may still see them in continental countries. We are met at once by the direct and aggressive influence of the Papacy, which the sixteenth century was destined to banish out of England. How the papal power, which had been intermittently exercised in the Saxon period, was directly introduced at the Norman Conquest and in the two following centuries, is probably well known to the reader. This influence waxed rather than waned until the fourteenth century, when Wycliffe and the Lollard movement somewhat weakened it, but the middle of the fifteenth century saw it revive again. Such fluctuation in its control over the Church of England must be borne in mind, for its extent and

[1] The administration of Confirmation was undoubtedly careless, and often haphazard, in medieval times.

directness varied greatly at different epochs ; but when Henry VII. ascended the throne its power was probably greater than it had been for a long time. Generally speaking it meant a continual reference to Rome, which might mean merely the imitation of what was in vogue at Rome in ecclesiastical fashion and practice, but often meant a direct interference with the affairs of the English Church.[1] Thus the Pope had come in time to have an effective control in a variety of particulars. Not only were legates sent for special service, but had come to have a resident legate in England, usually the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in effect on all occasions a representative of the Pope, watching his interests, and pleading his cause, if he really fulfilled his office. At one time the election of bishops had been reserved to the cathedral chapter and the king, but by degrees Rome arrogated to herself, if not the direct nomination, at all events the confirmation. Appeals, too, had been made from English ecclesiastical courts to the decision of the Pope, and a custom arose of referring multitudes of cases for his determination. If these were less in number in early Tudor days than in previous centuries, an important class of them were probably as numerous as ever, and had an intimate bearing upon social life. These were the dispensations from some regulation of Church law which were considered too serious for the home authorities to conclude. Thus questions of marriage within the prohibited degrees were constantly taken to Rome, as well as other matters on which it was the custom to sue for the Pope's licence. Litigation has

[1] The Pope claimed not merely an appellate jurisdiction but a concurrent ordinary jurisdiction within the realm. *Cf.* Maitland, 'Canon Law in England,' p. 105.

never been conducted without expense, and the enormous amount of ecclesiastical law work which all this entailed meant not merely the existence of a large body of Church lawyers, but the loss of a considerable amount of money which went in fees. It is the great scandal of the medieval Papacy that its chief visible relation to English Church people consisted in extorting money. This was by no means so bad in the fifteenth century as it had been, but it survived; and probably its most irritating form was now the payment of annates or first-fruits, which were paid by bishops and archbishops on their promotion,[1] and sent to Rome by the papal agents. These demands, however, did not affect all Churchmen, and it is certain that the general attitude of the people to Rome in the fifteenth century was one of respect, and that the congregation in church was quite ready to respond to the 'bidding of the bedes,' when they were requested first of all in order to offer their petitions for the Pope.[2] The instinctive reverence which subsisted for the existing system of the Church is indeed all the more touching when we reflect that, from a spiritual point of view, the Papacy had never fallen so low from its high estate since the dark period of the ninth century. Real piety was a quality which could not be found in any of the popes of the time, who were all more or less diplomatists or intriguers, when they did not descend to depths lower than mere worldliness in downright profligacy and immorality. Still, in all probability the average Churchman under Henry VII. would have echoed the words of a great bishop of Lincoln, who said of the

[1] See Dr T. D. Ingram, 'England and Rome,' p. 162.

[2] This attitude of the laity somewhat changed in the reign of Henry VIII. See below, p. 68.

Pope in an earlier century, 'whom not to obey is as the sin of witchcraft and idolatry.'

Almost more strange to us are the monasteries, which formed not merely a particularly conspicuous element in Church life, but entered into the whole system, social and religious alike. In the early days of English evangelisation the monasteries had formed not only missionary colleges, but also centres of preaching and teaching. In the period of Danish invasion they had acted as a breakwater against the tide which was obliterating the work of the Church. After the Norman Conquest the old types of monasticism had been supplemented by new orders like the Carthusians and the Cistercians, to whom the era of the Crusades added the military religious orders so characteristic of the age. All these bodies, living generally in their monasteries, were reinforced in the thirteenth century by the friars, whose idea was entirely different. It was the duty of the monk to work for God in his monastery, but it was the duty of the friar to itinerate and to make his way among the people in order to teach or to heal, in every case to raise and strengthen the poor and the degraded. The friars really introduced a contradiction to their very *raison d'être* when they built friaries and lived the stationary lives of monks, as they often did in course of years. Time had been when monasteries and friaries had been founded in great numbers, but that time had passed even when Henry IV. became king. They were still useful in a large variety of ways, but pious founders turned their devotion into other channels, and built schools instead of monasteries, and very few now thought of adding to the long list of religious houses for both sexes which were dotted all over the country. Indeed, a precedent had been set in the reign of

Henry V. for dissolving monasteries, when some priories belonging to foreign orders which were in direct dependence upon the mother establishment abroad were suppressed, and their revenues given to Winchester School or to other ecclesiastical objects in England. These dissolved houses were generally small, and their extinction made little difference in the immense wealth and influence of the English monasteries as a whole. No doubt the denunciation and criticism directed against the endowments of the monastic bodies by Wycliffites and Lollards aroused a certain degree of hostility against the system, but it is as ludicrously untrue to say that the monasteries were generally unpopular as to say to-day that the Church of England's general unpopularity is evidenced by the efforts of the Liberation Society. It may even be doubted whether the gentle satire of Erasmus against monasticism would have been uttered by any educated person in the fifteenth century.[1]

Abbeys, cathedrals, and parish churches alike bore witness to the vigour of a belief and practice which had received great impetus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. People were bidden in their parish church to pray for the three estates of Christian people—the spiritualty, the temporalty, and the souls in purgatory. For the special benefit of the last named estate chantries were ordained and endowed. A chantry was a foundation which maintained one or more priests in whole or in part. It was the duty of the chantry priest to pray, as a rule, for the founder and his family, and usually for all Christian people departed this life. Accordingly chapels, sometimes sumptuous and sometimes simple, were introduced into churches, over or

[1] See further reference to the question of monasticism below, p. 87.

near the founder's tomb; or else some existing altar was utilised where Mass was said, and the duty of his office discharged by the chaplain; but occasionally the chantry was a separate little building in the churchyard. The chantry priest, if he bore no other office, can scarcely have failed to be one of the least desirable ecclesiastics, since his duties occupied little time, and his long leisure gave him endless opportunity for mere idleness. It must not, however, be supposed that the majority of the large army of chantry priests had no other specific duty, for in no rare cases they acted as assistant curates to the parish priest, and helped him in a work which would otherwise have been too large for one man to perform.

A traveller from Italy who passed through the South of England about the year 1500 has left it on record concerning the people that they do not 'omit any form incumbent upon good Christians; there are, however, many who have diverse opinions concerning religion.'[1] This witness accords very much with what we should expect as to the hold of religion upon the populace. The questionings upon matters of faith and practice which the Lollard period had aroused had never died away, but outwardly Englishmen were generally loyal to all the forms of religion. Is it then possible to get a summary idea of what Church life meant at the time of this Italian's visit to England? In theory the Church and the nation were convertible terms, and in theory, at all events, the Church met each member of the people at every turn of life, whilst in practice the majority did not evade its influence. The infant was baptised, if possible, on the very day of his birth

[1] Camden Soc., *A Relation or True Account of the Island of England*, p. 23.

in the parish church. As he grew up he would come with his mother when she assisted at Mass on the Sunday, or visited some favourite altar in the church whether on Sunday or other festival, or when the doors stood open on the week-day. He would kneel as she told her beads, or offered her candle at the shrine, and would learn to climb up and reach the holy water near the door when he entered and left the building. In process of time the boy was presented to the bishop for Confirmation on some occasional visit when the prelate came to the neighbourhood, and was taught the obligation of at least an annual confession before his parish priest. Sunday in particular was the day for religious duties, when work was suspended and the parish church was attended for matins and Mass at least, if not for a later afternoon service. Doubtless the boy was unable to read, yet through his eyes he might see the facts of the Christian faith illustrated and symbolised in the church building and its services.[1] Instruction, too, was given, if the regulations of bishops and synods to that effect were observed, and even if the parish clergyman were unable to impart it himself, some wandering friar or other itinerating preacher was probably no rare visitant at village cross or in the pulpit of the church itself. At special seasons of the year the observances of religion were arranged with dramatic force in order to instil the truths of redemption, and to drive home the duty of the Christian. At Christmas the building was decorated with holly and yew, and a religious play, in towns at least, was prepared and presented to emphasise the

[1] No doubt stained glass and other representations contained much that was legendary and untrue, yet, besides the 'wood, hay, and stubble,' the real gold was also symbolised.

events of the festival. Holy Week had a ceremonial of peculiar elaborateness and significance, of which the design was to place before the eyes of those who could not read the things done and said at the Lord's Passion. On the Sunday, processions were formed in memory of Palm Sunday, and the parishioners, with yew or box or willow in their hands, passed round the church and churchyard and kept the Stations of the Cross; on Maundy Thursday the washing of the feet was commemorated and absolution was pronounced; on Good Friday the ceremony of 'Creeping to the Cross' was carried out, when the congregation filed past the Cross on bended knees and kissed it as they went. And so the Christian Year wore on, each fast or festival marked by some distinctive rite which was meant to make its meaning eloquent to all.

But the Church touched the life of its members outside the building no less than within. Thoroughly characteristic of the co-operative element in medieval Christianity were the guilds, which were to a great extent, and sometimes entirely, religious organisations. Even the great trade-guilds, which are to-day represented by the City Companies of London and of other towns, had a religious side to them, of which their modern service in church with sermon is the truncated descendant. The majority of the medieval guilds were on a smaller scale than these, and were associations not for trade purposes, but for some work or service which was the direct object of the union. They were formed for all sorts of purposes over and above the very constant one of thrift in prospect of sickness, poverty, or old age. Some were, so to speak, insurance offices for making provision in case of fire, or accident, or imprisonment, or marriage, or burial. Others again were of a more public character,

and undertook the making and repair of roads and bridges, and the maintenance of Church fabrics. Generally speaking, they all existed under Church sanction, and had definite religious duties to perform in attending regular or special services under the direction of a chaplain or other spiritual guide. These guilds drew into their association a considerable number of people in most parishes, and it is no exaggeration to say that they not only widely taught the duty of charity and unselfishness, but also brought this duty and its performance under the inspiration and regulation of religion. Even little villages remote from the stir of town life seem to have had their own guilds on a small scale.

All England was nominally Christian in the fifteenth century, and all the countries surrounding it were likewise in name Christian. The appeal of the missionary cause from those who lived in Africa or in other Mohammedan districts had not made itself felt since the days of the Crusades, and heathendom lay too far beyond the world of Englishmen to be remembered or assisted. Europe alone had any interest for those who were able to look outside their own immediate surroundings. Voices from the larger world beyond the diocese and beyond England came now and then to the Churchman in town or village. Sometimes in the pulpit the parish clergyman announced new laws or ordinances which had been passed by authorities in Church or State, or read out a pastoral letter from the bishop, or appealed to his parishioners to join in some great Church enterprise like the building of a cathedral, and so made them feel that the Church was a far wider association than guild, or parish, or even diocese. Pardoners came into the district now and again, perhaps not so

often in the fifteenth century as before, and bore from the Pope or some other high ecclesiastical authority, an indulgence certified by parchment and seal displayed to the people. They showed relics brought from Rome or elsewhere, and outdid the wonders of the parochial treasury of sacred mementoes by the impressive character of these venerable curiosities. The pardoners, gaily satirised by Chaucer, and since his day by other writers, were one of the chief excrescences on the medieval Church, since the system of indulgences, ridiculous in itself, was so easily abused by any glib-tongued adventurer who might or might not have seen Rome, and might or might not be carrying on his trade merely for his own benefit. It is difficult for an English Churchman to understand the bare idea of these indulgences which the pardoners carried round, and sold or otherwise distributed to simple men and women who believed in them. Not seldom the indulgence referred to a pilgrimage of greater or less peril which the pardoner urged his hearers to undertake. The rich might easily perform it and cross the sea, perhaps, to some renowned shrine on the Continent like Rocamadour ; and the poor might beg their way thither and procure merit in so doing. It needed no preacher from the outer world, however, to magnify the interest and benefit of pilgrimage to a local shrine. A North Countryman would visit, if he could, the feretory of St Cuthbert at Durham, of St Wilfrid at Ripon, of St William at York, or of St John at Beverley. In the South the favourite resorts were Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk, the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury, St Swithin at Winchester, St Thomas at Hereford, and many another. The pilgrims

rarely came with empty hands, and it seems likely that the fascination of such a religious holiday never abated until at the Reformation the practice was forcibly rooted up by the destruction of the shrines.[1]

In this way, then, the Church entered into the life of the majority of the people, and touched it at every point. Religious observances were a drama in which the folk took their part as actors, or as spectators. It was the medieval conception of worship and ordinance, and it can be most readily appreciated to-day by visiting Spain and marking the way in which the Church affects the people. There we can see stately cathedrals and more humble village churches served very much as English minsters and churches were served before the Reformation, furnished in the same way, frequented in the same way. Indeed, the whole position of the Church in the national life is similar. But Englishmen were richer under Henry VII. than Spaniards are under Alphonso XIII. The traveller already quoted is interested to notice that 'the riches of England are greater than those of any other country in Europe . . . above all their riches are displayed in the church treasures, for there is not a parish church in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, patens, and cups of silver. Nor is there a convent of mendicant friars so poor as not to have all these same articles in silver, besides many other ornaments worthy of a cathedral church in the same metal. Accordingly you may readily imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries must be.'[2] True, the writer had not seen the whole of

[1] See pp. 108 and 119.

[2] Camden Soc., *A Relation*, etc., p. 29.

England, and was dependent to some extent upon the report of those who would naturally desire to make the best of their Church, but his account is corroborated by inventories of the time, and by passing allusions to the state of things; and it seems probable that the general aspect of the churches was comparatively free from tawdriness and the poor taste of ornaments and decorations which are characteristic of the buildings in Spain and other modern Roman Catholic countries. However, the thing mainly to be insisted upon is that the Church had a strong hold upon the people as a whole, and there is no reason to question the accuracy of a contemporary picture given in these words: 'They all attend mass every day [the writer is obviously speaking of the towns], and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse in a low voice after the manner of the monks); they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms, because they may not offer less than a piece of money of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat.'[1]

[1] Camden Soc., *A Relation*, etc., p. 23. It may be said, perhaps, that the picture of Church life given in the text is rather too ideal, and that it omits the darker shadows of ignorance, superstition, and credulity. No doubt these shadows existed differently in different places; but the writer's design has been to exhibit what the Church tried to do for its members, and, at all events, the evidence as that of an actual traveller must have due weight given to it.

CHAPTER II

THE NEED OF A REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH

INCIDENTAL notice has been taken in the previous chapter of some of the most palpable defects in the system of the medieval Church. It will be well to examine these and other defects rather more in detail, in order to see what their character is, if we are to find a sufficient justification of that great upheaval which we call the Reformation. Either this convulsion was justified by the existence of inveterate abuses, or else the whole movement is an act of rebellion which can merit no pardon from the historical student. But what is an abuse? So far as the polity and practice of the Church are concerned very different answers will be returned to the question. No age discerns its own defects with very clear view. Some kind of distance is necessary in order to see them properly, and no doubt a later century will perceive, with astonishment at our own blindness, not a few blemishes in our present ecclesiastical constitution, practice, and belief, of which we ourselves are quite unconscious:

> 'We think our fathers fools, so wise we grow;
> Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so!'—POPE.

Yet from any point of view there were abuses of various kinds calling loudly for remedy at the close of the Middle Ages. They were patent enough even to those who had grown up in familiarity with the existing

order of things, and who would naturally excuse what they saw. Learned Romanists who opposed the Reformation as it developed—men like Bellarmin—acknowledged that some change was necessary. To-day it is probable that no Roman Catholic is an undiscriminating supporter of the Church as it existed at the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth, and there are many who admit that reformation was imperative. Difference of opinion begins when we try to catalogue the chief abuses.

1. There were first of all defects inherent in the constitution of the Western Church. The Pope, for instance, was supreme over the Church as the Vicar of Christ. In virtue of the view which he took of his relation to the Church universal, the last of the great medieval Pontiffs declared in the famous bull *Unam sanctam*, published in 1302, that 'it is absolutely essential to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the Roman Pontiff.' It is a curious commentary on these words of Boniface VIII., that before the century which first saw them passed to its end, a revolt against Rome was in progress. Ardent Wycliffites in England and in Bavaria had reached the position that the Pope is antichrist, and succeeded in convincing a multitude of followers that this assertion was true. They were led to their conclusion not so much by the kind of historic research that would be open to us to-day, but by what they saw and heard of the fourteenth-century Papacy. Their criticism was directed not so much against the idea of a Papacy, as against the practical abuses which appeared to be connected with the system. There is, perhaps, nothing inherent in the idea of papal government of

the Church which is wrong in itself, and no student of Church history who reads without prejudice can deny the vast benefits of control, organisation, and development directly due to the Papacy. It is indeed difficult to see how any semblance of law and order could have been maintained without its direction, and it is a fair question whether after all a 'just tyranny' is not the best form of government. The wrong entered into the papal constitution because it failed in process of time to be just, and because it based its claims upon the impossible. Its practical injustice and its theoretical extravagance may be illustrated in various ways. Perhaps the main abuse which was patent even in those days was the character of the Papacy as a vast money-collecting institution. The expenses of the papal court and of all the intricate ramifications of the system were enormous. Now it was just at this point that it touched the ordinary Churchman, who was taxed directly or indirectly for the support of a machine which did not seem to give a corresponding benefit in return. All sorts of papal dues had to be collected from the various churches in communion with Rome.[1] There were, as we have seen, annates to be taken from the bishops as a regular tax, and tithes to be levied as a special due from the clergy. In the year 1500 the infamous Alexander VI. imposed the payment of a tithe upon the English clergy. From the people at large other gifts were expected, such as subsidies, which were exacted from time to time over and above the regular payment of Peter's Pence, a very old due to Rome. It was not merely the necessity of contributing that people resented, but the irritating manner of collection, and the known abuses of percentages

[1] See 'Cambridge Modern History,' i. 667.

granted to the collectors. Moreover the iniquities of reserved benefices, of vacant livings, of offices bought and sold, of dispensations to override the Canon Law, and other evil practices as well, were notorious to the whole Church. If these things produced irritation among the clergy and laity at large, other features of the Papacy proved irksome in other directions. In earlier days the exercise of political jurisdiction had been allowed to pass almost without question, but the power of the popes had declined since the days of Innocent III., so that they were no longer able to set up one king and to put down another, yet they found opportunity in many ways to exercise a controlling influence in the affairs of kingdoms, and to interfere with the monarch's undoubted right to patronage and office.[1] Even this stretch of pretension on the part of the Pope might have been allowed to pass without remonstrance, if he had possessed that commanding personality and unblemished character which had not been an infrequent combination in the earlier popes. But the Papacy had lost the respect of thinking Europe when Alexander VI. became Pope in 1492, and no one can say that the early popes of the sixteenth century are impressive from a religious point of view. Increasing secularisation had in fact robbed the Papacy of its old power for righteousness.

But do we realise how much of the Pope's position and claims was founded upon an ignorance that was natural and inevitable? *We* can see their falseness because we have the light of history to guide us. It has been pointed out that after all, those who upheld the pretensions of the Papacy were acting like the mediæval painters who 'represented Roman centurions in

[1] See 'Cambridge Modern History,' i. 665.

medieval armour, and conceived the dreary landscapes of Judæa as luxuriant with the beauty of Southern Italy.'[1] With a similar imagination in those uncritical times men of real learning looked back to St Peter and other early bishops of Rome as fully developed medieval popes, and they had no idea of fraud in such a representation, for they thought that they were perpetuating what had existed from the early ages of the Church. A similar uncritical spirit accepted the forged decretals and other documents which had once been fabricated to give the prestige of immemorial antiquity to the decisions of the papal See. These were the unquestioned basis of the Canon Law of the papal Church, and no one had as yet the knowledge or the inclination to throw doubt upon them. We can see to-day how absolutely unhistorical are these documents, on which so much of the authority of the Pope rested. It may be added in this connexion that we can also see how such ignorance operated in other directions. Transubstantiation, for instance, rests upon the doctrines of medieval philosophers as to the distinction between substance and accident, but that distinction, we are told, is, in the light of better knowledge, entirely untenable. Romanists, again, included marriage as one of the seven sacraments, but this view, as we now know, is based upon an impossible piece of New Testament exegesis.[2]

2. It was on its practical side, then, that the defects of the Papacy first became patent to thinkers in the Middle Ages. There were other practical abuses which were more or less remotely connected with it, but, at all events, flourished under its shadow. We

[1] Curteis, 'Bampton Lectures,' p. 142.

[2] The translation of the Latin Bible in Ephesians v. 32.

may briefly mention some of these, premising that here again we are apt to regard them in the light of what came to pass, and that it is not at all clear that the men of that age recognised them, in every case, as abuses. The state of the clergy varied very much. Uniform as the Church was, the fact of local variation existed, and must be borne in mind in this and in other questions. We must not cite Spain for England, nor Italy for Germany. The evidence certainly seems to point to a higher level of clerical character in England than on the Continent. Both satirist and historian combine to give us a rather dark picture of the general level in Europe as the sixteenth century opens. Fifty years before, at a conclave of cardinals held in Rome, it was said: 'The morals of the clergy are corrupt; they have become an offence to the laity; all discipline is lost. From day to day the respect for the Church diminishes.'[1] In 1512 a friar preaching in Germany paints the sensuality and immorality of all orders of the clergy in lurid colours. But such testimonies concern the continental Church, and in their literal acceptation would not be true of the vast majority of the clergy, secular or regular, in England. Sir Thomas More, whose memory went back well into the fifteenth century, was able to say, in answer to criticisms directed against the clergy: 'There have never been wanting plenty of those who have always been naught, but their faults have ever been their own, and should not be imputed to the whole body.'[2] Human nature being what it is, and clerical celibacy being compulsory in those days, it would only be natural to imagine that there were

[1] Quoted in 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. i. pp. 674-5.

[2] But see the quotation in Stubbs, 'Const. Hist.,' iii. 523. Ed. 1878.

frequent lapses from virtue. The existence of a kind of licensed concubinage among the clergy is not to be excused, though by Churchmen at that time it was suffered with some connivance. There can be no doubt that the people had a kind of spite against the clergy because of the collection of tithes, which was always unpopular, and the fact of this feeling will account for the readiness with which satire directed against the clergy was generally received.[1] We shall consider the condition of the monasteries farther on, but it may be said here that wholesale condemnation of them is absolutely unjust. Irregularities no doubt existed, and some of these were detected in the fifteenth century in the course of visitation, but that is far from allowing a universal decadence amongst them. Both among the monastic and the secular clergy, however, the existence of 'immunities' was a fruitful abuse. The origin of such exemption, or, at all events, of practical exemption from secular jurisdiction, must be traced to a much earlier period of the Church's history. If its worst evasions had been curtailed in subsequent years, still practical exemption from the process and penalty of the temporal courts was the privilege of all orders of clergy until the changes of the sixteenth century restricted or abolished the practice. The laxity of the Church courts towards clerical offenders was notorious, and it often happened that the ends of justice were defeated by the sentence passed upon a delinquent. Benefit of clergy, the technical name given to the immunity of the clergy, had come to be one of the most crying scandals, for it had the effect of shielding criminals from the punishment due to the offence, and,

[1] See the history and influence of the famous London dispute in 'Victoria County History for London,' vol. i.

as minor orders covered a large number of persons, the criminals who escaped the penalty cannot fail to have been fairly numerous.

3. It is a natural transition to pass from the clergy to the public services at which they officiated. It is not too much to say that the whole conception of the services of the Church was profoundly modified at the Reformation. We who have been brought up in the spirit of Cranmer's preface to the Prayer Book are apt to regard the principle of edification as one of the dominant notes of public worship. The medieval idea of the service as a solemn and stately drama performed in God's honour is therefore strange to us. The incongruity of using an unfamiliar language 'not understanded of the people' did not strike worshippers in those days. The main thought and idea of the office were the essentials, and the exact force and significance of the words used were to all intents and purposes accidental. The observance of the Mass as the great propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, presented as an act of adoring homage to God, was the main idea for the worshipper to hold. The daily and nightly offices of the Church were in like manner acts of praise and prayer to God, and it did not matter much if those present failed to catch the telling force of psalm and hymn and lection in their significant juxtaposition so long as the office was duly sung to the glory of God. Yet if the general conception of the medieval offices has very much in it to admire, and if it is not hard from the medieval point of view to offer some defence in support of the use of Latin in the services, no one will be found to deny that accretions were clustering thickly around these time-honoured services, and that, as our Prayer Book reminds us, they had become extremely

complex and cumbersome in addition to containing a good deal that was questionable. Certainly no one will be found to support some other ceremonial observances which are characteristic enough of the times. What can be said in defence of the worship of relics, for no ingenuity can explain away the fact that popular regard of these things did amount to worship? Every cathedral and important church had its own shrine and its own curiosities which were displayed in church or in procession to the adoring gaze of the common people. Men and women came from afar not merely to see, but to venerate these things. The parish churches, on a smaller scale, emulated the larger institutions, and very few of them can have failed to possess at least some object of veneration. In 1495, for instance, the churchwardens of St Andrew Hubbard enter in their accounts that they 'paid for a relic of St Andrew's finger one penny.' The eagerness to possess a good relic led to the development of a large and not very reputable trade in relics, which gave endless opportunity for chicanery. The fraudulent character of this relic-mongering had its origin, of course, in the profit which attached to the practice. The same motive of monetary interest prompted other pious frauds, and if some great monasteries or cathedrals refused to condescend to such extremely questionable practices there were numberless houses which were famous for wonder-working images, or miraculous pictures which were an object of pilgrimage to all the country round.

4. We approach more debateable ground when we pass to consider the doctrinal errors of the period. By what standard are we to determine how far they are erroneous? Are we to judge by the Bible, which is very diversely interpreted by different sections of

Christian people? Are we to be guided by the doctrinal formularies of the Church of England as we have them to-day in Articles and Prayer Book? Are we to apply the test of the consentient belief and practice of the early Church? We are unconsciously influenced in our answer by our own predilections and familiarity. It is better, perhaps, to start with a principle which can not be denied. We must all acknowledge that it is inherent in human nature to be one-sided, and that this bias, like the error in the calendar, works out, or is likely to work out, to a large result. We may take up almost any epoch of ordinary history or theology and watch the working of this one-sided tendency, until a sudden arrest takes place and the pendulum begins to swing back again from Collectivism to Individualism, or from Calvinism to Arminianism, or from some other trend or bent to its opposite. Is medieval Theology likely to be an exception to this tendency of the human mind? And when the check of the Reformation took place is Reformation Theology likely to be an exception to the rule? But to keep for the present to the one-sidedness of medieval Theology. Its unarrested development during several centuries led to exaggeration and mis-statement in various directions. Surely it is not impossible to measure such one-sidedness, as we hold in our hands the standards alluded to a moment ago, the standards of the earlier and of the later Church! Our position is like that of the audience in the theatre, who are better able to judge of the effect of scenery, of voice, of gesture, and of acting than the man on the stage; so we can see, as we look on, the general tone and effect which the medieval theologians could not have seen so clearly.

We observe, then, how in the course of centuries the position of the Christian ministry and its relation to the individual had been dislocated. The long process of development which had gone on almost without criticism, certainly until the age of Wycliffe, had ended in the evolution of the medieval priesthood, which was no longer a ministry in any ordinary sense of the word, but a system of intermediaries interposed between the soul and God. It may be well to fortify ourselves as to the correctness of this view by quoting the words of a distinguished authority, who says: 'No good Catholic Christian doubted that in spiritual things the clergy were the divinely appointed superiors of the laity; that this power proceeded from the right of the priests to celebrate the sacraments; that the Pope was the real possessor of this power, and was far superior to all secular authority.'[1] Moreover, the control exercised by the priests over a man's spiritual life did not end with death, for the medieval theory of purgatory had been carefully built up, and over the condition of souls in purgatory and the means for their benefit the clergy had a very direct influence in the numberless Masses which were offered in parish churches and chantries in every place. True the whole efficacy of the Mass depended upon the atoning sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ, but the ordinary method of applying the virtue of this sacrifice to the souls of the departed was the office of the priest. This wide range of the work of a priest upon the soul of the Churchman, beginning in baptism, continued in other sacraments, and exerted still after death efficaciously, was directly contemplated in the terms of his ordination whereby he was made a

[1] Harnack, 'Hist. of Dogma' (Eng. trans.), vi. 132 n., quoted by Lindsay, 'Hist. Ref.,' i. 12.

priest, and given 'power to celebrate mass as well for the living as the dead.'[1]

Again, with regard to the means of grace dispensed by the ministry a similar development is seen. The only service ordained by Our Lord for His disciples, so far as we know, was the Eucharist. He did not prohibit other services, and indeed those trained in the Jewish synagogue would instinctively adapt services public and occasional with which they were familiar; but we have no record of their being prescribed. It is not, then, to be wondered at that the Eucharist, His special ordinance, became the crown and culmination of the Christian services. As time went on the tendency grew to make it more stately, more ceremonious, more imposing, and above all more eloquent of the mysteries of the Christian Faith in its studied symbolism and arrangement. In England this development and enrichment of ceremonial had progressed rapidly during the Middle Ages. With it there went a corresponding development of doctrine, and no unprejudiced student can possibly say that the doctrine of the Mass in the fifteenth century shows no advance upon that of the seventh or even of the eleventh. The Mass had ceased to be a Communion, and its prominent aspect in the medieval Missal is rather a propitiatory sacrifice offered by the celebrant for the living and the dead. It was frequently offered although no single communicant came forward to receive the elements, and often, in the so-called solitary Masses, with no communicants present at all.

Evolution is seen too in the other sacraments, as for instance in the sacrament of Penance. In its origin

[1] See Maskell, 'Monument. Ritual. Eccl. Angl.,' ii. 226, which gives the old pre-Reformation form.

Penance was one of the most beneficial institutions of the early Church. In the Middle Ages it had gathered new ideas, and had become a crystallised system. Those who guided its early development surely never intended it to become a highly elaborate tariff of satisfactions, by which the appropriate punishment for some heinous offence might be commuted for a payment in act or even in money. The worst feature of it all was the indulgences, which in time grew up as a particular excrescence on the whole system. No early precedent or warrant for indulgences can be found, and the schoolmen were unable to justify them, save as an existing piece of Church doctrine which they accepted because it did exist.[1] The theory on which they rested was the meritorious treasury of the saints, a fund consisting of the merits of Christ and of good works stored up by holy men on which the Church, through properly accredited officials, might draw for the benefit of persons still alive, and also for the benefit of souls in purgatory. It is perfectly true that the punishment which was remitted by the indulgence was never supposed to be God's punishment for sin inflicted after death, but the temporal punishment, the appropriate earthly penance for sins committed. Probably no theologian would have explained the forgiveness of living or of dead conveyed by an indulgence as other than the penance due during life for some sin committed which might not have been discharged before death, and therefore needed remission.[2] Yet the fact remains that the common people did not appreciate the distinction between temporal and eternal punishment, but regarded indulgences 'as equivalent to ab-

[1] The fullest account is in H. C. Lea's 'History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences,' vol. iii.

[2] Lea, p. 39.

solution.'[1] If the indulgence had been freely granted to the devout only, a particular abuse of the practice would have been removed; but, as it was, indulgences were openly and shamelessly sold for money. No one-sided development of doctrine was a more palpable abuse than the whole theory and practice of indulgences.

Such, then, were some of the defects in the medieval Church. They need no laborious tracking out, but lie on the very surface. An attack upon them had been commenced in England under Wycliffe, but it had been repressed and the voice of objectors had been silenced. They were widely accepted, for the Church system was not unpopular with the people at large in the days of Henry VII. If, however, a critical spirit should arise in the country at any time, it could scarcely fail to notice these blemishes in the order and doctrine of the Church. We have seen the birth of such a spirit in the nineteenth century, and we know how it has called upon the Church to justify her existence, and to produce her title-deeds. We shall see in the next chapter how a similar spirit with similar challenge manifested itself in the sixteenth century. In the same way if a new theology should appear with fresh and living appeal, it would readjust the one-sidedness and lack of proportion to which attention has been drawn. More than once in the history of the Church has such an appearance been hailed with enthusiasm, and has caught the minds and hearts of men with its living power. We shall find that the sixteenth century witnessed such a revival, and that this revival, with all its exaggeration and mistakes, was a real and deep movement in England.

[1] Lord Acton, 'Lectures on Modern History,' 92.

CHAPTER III

THE APPEARING OF NEW FORCES

A NEW era was about to dawn, not only upon the Church in England, but also upon the Church of the whole of Western Europe. No doubt thoughtful Churchmen had remarked an increasing light long before the fifteenth century came to its close; and equally, without doubt, many of them prayed for a time of reformation to set in and end the abuses which had grown up in the Church system. Educated men, however, knew well that increasing light had come in more than one epoch before their time, and they probably attributed the brighter signs of the time to the comparative peace and the constant progress of a quieter period. They also knew that hopes of reform had existed beyond the memory of man and had failed, and failed notoriously, despite the fact that council after council had been summoned for the express purpose of reforming the Church in head and members. Unquiet spirits, who were branded still as Wycliffites and Lollards, were ready for any kind of ecclesiastical revolution which would fulfil the ideas that their grandfathers had handed down to them from the preaching of John Ball, or from the Lollard conclusions presented to Parliament a century before.[1] But such men were scattered talkers, or at the most formed little coteries in the larger towns, and did not represent

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 126.

the feeling of the wiser and more responsible Church people of the day. No one foresaw the earthquake shock that was to break up the medieval Church, and usher in a new order of things in Church and State. The existing condition seemed to be part of the settled constitution of the universe, and its continuance in its main features and relations must have appeared the most certain event of the future when men looked on and speculated, as men will always speculate, concerning the probable course of affairs in a new century at hand.

No event is really sudden: whether it is an earthquake or an avalanche, or the collapse of a building, or what we call a sudden illness or death, there has always been a preparation beforehand working up to the actual event itself. The Reformation is no exception to the rule, and we may readily trace the beginning and development of influences and conditions in thought, in belief, and in society, which were all causes contributing to the great consummation which eventually set in. These influences were very gradual in their manifestation, and their beginnings lie far back in history—too far back, indeed, for us to follow them out entirely; yet slowly and surely they increased in volume through the fifteenth century, until they gathered a force and energy which could not be resisted, but sought an outlet which, as we shall see, was supplied by the events of the next century. We must now turn our attention to these influences and see how they were produced.

First and foremost, we must place that great revolution of thought and taste, which we have come to call by different names, such as the Renaissance, or Renascence, or the New Learning, though this last phrase is generally applied in a

narrower sense to the change in dogmatic belief which asserted itself under Henry VIII. It is not the earliest movement of the kind that history records, nor is it the last, for the centuries are marked by revivals, whether in learning or in religion, but it is the most important of all, since its results were so far-reaching. Learning had largely died down in the early part of the fifteenth century. But we must be careful, for this assertion does not at all mean that learning did not exist, or that monasteries and colleges entirely lacked either the means of learning or men who were willing to learn. As a matter of fact, we know that there were both excellent libraries in England and elsewhere, even in the later Middle Ages, and that at all events England, with which we are now concerned, possessed men of considerable attainment in the ranks of monks and friars, as well as among the ordinary clergy. But there was no widespread enthusiasm for learning, and what learning there was may best be described as Latin learning. The inspiration of Greece scarcely existed for the late medieval scholar, so that the treasures of its philosophy and poetry were practically unknown in Western Europe generally. Above all, a knowledge of Greek as a key to the meaning of the New Testament did not exist, and, as we shall see, when this key was found once more, it unlocked one of the most fertile influences that the sixteenth century witnessed. But before that day came, the ordinary education of the university, widely though not exclusively restricted to men who intended to take Orders in the Church, consisted of lectures upon the works of the Schoolmen. These teachers were the standard authorities of the Middle Ages, who, during their lifetime, had been themselves teachers of renown, and whose works were

gathered together in manuscript after their death, and formed the text-books of the ordinary lecturers. They were in every case not merely standard authorities by reason of their excellence or chance renown, but because they had the sanction of the Church, which was stamped upon them and constituted them the prescribed course for the student. Theology, as men learned it in the university curriculum, was mainly a second-hand repetition and explanation of these venerable and admired writers, and after the ban of the Church lighted upon the treatises of Wycliffe, and closed his suggestive scepticism to the ordinary learner, the old routine, with its traditional and stereotyped course, held its own at Oxford and Cambridge.

The new light came from the East. It is usual to assign its commencement to the fall of Constantinople before the invading Turks in 1453. After centuries of menace and invasion on the part of these Saracens, the Greek Empire in its sadly attenuated form came to an end in that year, and the treasures of Greek literature, hitherto stored up in the old Christian Greek city, were scattered towards the West of Europe. But Greek influence really came west long before this break-up of the Greek Empire. In the South of Europe, indeed, it had long been a real power. Manuel Chrysoloras, for instance, whose name deserves wide remembrance, taught Greek in Florence before the end of the previous century, and became a centre of great attraction in that cultivated republic, where his lectures were thronged by appreciative listeners. Others followed him in the next fifty years, and produced a demand for Greek scholarship, which was fostered by the great family of the Medici at Florence, and in other places by other teachers and patrons, as at

Rome and Venice and Perugia. As a result of all this Greek teaching a thirst for everything Hellenic was produced in Italy before 1453, and a real Hellenic Renaissance was already in progress. It is, however, true to say that the fall of Constantinople greatly stimulated the demand for Greek learning. Those who were already teaching in Italy were now reinforced by a number of Greek scholars, who brought from the captured city not only their knowledge, but precious manuscripts; and at Florence, in particular, they were received and welcomed first by Cosmo de' Medici, and after his death, in 1464, by his son Lorenzo.

In itself Greek is a language of wonderful richness and very hard to learn effectively, but students in Florence and elsewhere soon discovered that endless toil spent upon its mastery was worth while, because a knowledge of Greek opened the treasures of philosophers, revealed the beauties of poets, and exhibited the stateliness of orators to them. More immediately influential and attractive, however, were the wonderful intellectual stimulus and zest which were generated by association in lecture, and in the numberless opportunities of fellowship which university life furnished. An atmosphere was produced in this way which in itself was an education to those who came to Italy in the days of the Medici. A new enthusiasm for knowledge sprang up there, and students came to feel of that time what Wordsworth and his friends thought of another period of keen intellectual movement three hundred years later:

> 'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven!'

We must not, then, regard the enthusiastic learners under the Italian Renaissance as men who merely

learnt Greek, or who simply gained a hold of knowledge wider than that which was customary in the medieval universities. A new era of scholarship began with the raising of the standard of taste which was now developed. Those who were fortunate enough to be able to go to Florence or to other seats of the new learning in Italy imbibed the scholar's delight of collecting manuscripts, of interchanging letters on literary subjects, of writing verses and acquiring a style of composition, with real polish and elegance to give it merit and charm. The improvement in culture must have been prodigious. Nor were their interests confined to literature. A real joy was manifested in art and archæology. Art had become debased and the study of antiquity did not exist. Students began to turn their attention to classic models and to discover the fascination that exists in tracing anew the history of a forgotten past. Priceless treasures of ancient literature were found in the libraries that were now ransacked for the precious things that had been stored in dusty closets and unvisited receptacles, and eager disciples were rewarded by the rich yield of ancient authors whose works and whose very names had almost faded from the recollection of the time. A regular trade was begun in manuscripts and in other remains of antiquity, which were thus eagerly sought from all quarters ; and copyists found remunerative employment and interesting occupation in transcribing documents. Many singularly impressive personalities were connected with this revival, and spread its influence in various ways. None of these left a more lasting mark than the great teachers who lectured in Florence, in Rome, and in other cities, leaving few literary remains, but inspiring a new generation who thronged their lecture-rooms and

caught from them a new ideal not only of learning itself, but also of the way in which to impart it. Such men were Filelfo and the better-known Politian, who taught at Florence, the one in the earliest days of the movement, and the other when it was at its zenith. Both of these teachers attracted large numbers of students, before whom they exhibited a model of instruction which the disciples must have striven to copy in after days in many widely distant lands. And we must not forget on a rather lower level, if indeed it is a lower level, the work of a new generation of schoolmasters who caught the spirit of the new age and trained their pupils in accordance with it. The leader of such teachers is Vittorino, who taught boys at Mantua in the first half of the fifteenth century with an enlightenment which anticipated the methods of the great English head-masters of the nineteenth century. It is a surprise to read to-day of the wonderful grasp that Vittorino had of the real meaning of education, and to mark the width of the course which he desired the ordinary Italian boy to follow, not only in Latin and Greek literature, but in mathematics and in astronomy, whilst with astonishing insight he placed physical training in the forefront of his system, and brought together in beneficial association the sons of noblemen, and also boys of poorer parents, whom he maintained from his private purse.

It mattered little what city of Italy might be visited by wandering scholars, for the Renaissance affected the whole country. Long before the end of the fifteenth century, its influence had been diffused in every Italian town of importance. It was no new thing for students to round off their education by taking a journey to Italy. In older days such journeys had been taken

chiefly by way of pilgrimage, and generally to Rome. A new motive was now added when students began to repair to Italy in numbers in order to avail themselves of the great opportunities which were now possible. It was a difficult thing, and expensive, to travel in the fifteenth century; and those who chiefly came at first to taste the revival of learning were men from nearer countries, like France and Germany. England was then famous for its wealth, but its people were considered simple and boorish, and our countrymen had no continental reputation for learning. But Englishmen began, as early as the reign of Edward IV., to repair to Italy. One of the first who went was William Grey, a member of a noble English family, who sent back reports of what he learned in Italy, and attracted others to follow in his footsteps. More notable than Grey was Selling, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury, whose pupil Linacre, and whose friends Grocyn and Latimer (not of course Hugh Latimer), returned to England to inaugurate a new era. Linacre became one of the greatest physicians of the time, and instituted the College of Physicians in London. Grocyn taught Greek, which was then practically, if not entirely, unknown at Oxford, and began the revival of learning in the English universities. Rather later than these was John Colet, the son of a lord-mayor of London, to whose influence we shall recur.

There were two distinct sides to the Revival of learning—the secular interest and the religious interest. Many of those who attended the lectures of Politian in Florence were caught chiefly by the literary aspect of the movement and by the strong appeal to their sympathies which they found in the study of art and

archæology. This is the humanist interest which made the study of Plato and other classical writers a joy and an end in itself, and found in graceful composition or in the search for manuscripts a complete satisfaction. There were others who were deeply conscious of all this delight in letters, but desired above all things to apply the improved taste and methods to the study of theology. Selling did not go to Italy in order to improve his Latinity or to learn Greek, but to fit himself to be a better and truer teacher of divinity. Colet did not spend three years away from England merely to delight in the intellectual atmosphere of Florence, and then, returning, to feel for the rest of his life that he had left behind him on the Continent most of what could make life worth living. Such men went to light the torch of learning in the interests of the Christian faith, and they came back to hold it aloft in the darker north. We see the influence of Colet and of his friend Erasmus in the changing spirit which begins to appear at Oxford and in London at the beginning of the new century, when the revival of letters is found to be altering in many ways the older methods and fashions of thought and belief. Colet came back from his foreign sojourn in 1496, and began at once to lecture at Oxford in a private capacity, for he held no public post there. He took as his subject not the text of Plato or the amenities of elegant composition, which would have attracted a mere humanist, but St Paul's Epistles. What has been said above as to the sterility of medieval lecturing on theology must be borne in mind if we would appreciate the significance of Colet's choice and method. He deliberately laid aside the glosses of the schoolmen, and made men listen to the voice of St Paul. There must have been

something audacious to an academic audience in his thus cutting himself adrift from accredited methods, and even if the lecturer was not as yet sufficiently master of Greek to profit much by it, he had learned enough under foreign teachers to make him revolutionise the way of studying the New Testament. We still have the substance of his lectures, which were in Latin, and we can see from slight study of them that he was treading the right path and was leading his hearers to realise what St Paul really intended to convey apart from the eccentricity and unprofitableness of conventional interpretation. The extent of a teacher's influence can never be estimated by mere popularity, nor even by the notice that he attracts at the time. We are unable to trace the full effect of the lectures Colet gave at Oxford, but remembering the fact, of which we have full proof, that he was listened to by every one of any position in Oxford, and that they took notes, it is only reasonable to infer that many of those who were the leaders of thought at the time must have felt with a new force what Colet told them, for instance, about the personal resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. And we must further remember that Colet was a man ready to attack practical abuses. Alike in his lectures at Oxford, and later in London, he took full advantage of his opportunity to inveigh against the prominent abuses and scandals of the time, such as pluralism and simony, Church courts and lawyers.

From Oxford Colet passed to London as Dean of St Paul's, and there proved himself a growing power by his sermons in the Cathedral. His previous connexion with the city would in any case get him an audience apart from his growing reputation, and it is not difficult to believe that his influence was exerted widely from the

pulpit. His foundation of St Paul's School is another witness for the lodgment of the principles of the Revival of Letters, in its best sense, in the City of London. The date of its opening is 1510, and in or about that same year Erasmus, the famous Dutch scholar, had come to reside in Cambridge, and to kindle, mainly on the secular side, the new influences in that university. But before that date the movement was touching other centres in England. True, the nobility were practically uninfluenced by it, and there was a widespread prejudice against Greek, but at the Court of Henry VII. the Renaissance was well patronised. The Queen's mother had appointed divinity professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, and the King himself had an interest in letters, and sought for his children efficient tutors, who represented the new spirit rather than the old. At least two of the bishops specially connected with the Court were instrumental in fostering and extending the Renaissance, Fisher by persuading the Lady Margaret to found Christ's and St John's Colleges at Cambridge, and Fox by his foundation of Corpus Christi at Oxford, which he established avowedly and openly in the interests of the New Learning.

In Wycliffe's days the laborious care of the many students who came from abroad to Oxford had multiplied copies of his lectures and treatises. Coincidently with the beginning of the fifteenth century revival of letters, the discovery of the art of printing gradually enabled a more fortunate generation of students to dispense with dictated notes to some extent, and to furnish themselves with text-books, which soon began to be printed. Thus thought received wings, and was able to fly round the civilised world. Printing had been invented in Germany, but it very soon spread to Italy,

and thence to Venice, Switzerland, France, Holland, and Spain, and last of all to England. The very first complete book printed was the Latin Bible in 1455, and although all sorts of volumes of popular and classical education soon began to be published, a large proportion of the catalogue of fifteenth century books printed on the Continent consisted of biblical and devotional works. In England early printed books were by no means so largely religious in character as those which first appeared in Germany, yet in England also various religious treatises and books of devotion were soon produced. In any case, those who could read must as yet have been few in number, and the first readers of these works would naturally be confined to the clergy and to those who had received some education. The enormous power that the press was destined to have in spreading the new views becomes increasingly apparent as we enter the sixteenth century. Next to the influence of the great personalities who moulded the new age, we must place printing as the most potent force in developing the changes that soon took place.

The printing-press was not the auxiliary of the new learning alone: it scattered abroad the new doctrines which followed in the wake of the Renaissance. Without it the Reformation could scarcely have taken place. We have now to see how these doctrines were propagated. It must be laid down at the outset that Wycliffism and its offspring Lollardy had been a real and forcible revolution, and that the spirit of Lollardy had never died out, though it had been reduced to a condition of suspended animation. We have already seen that an Italian traveller about the year 1500 bore witness to the general outward piety of the people, yet says at the same time that 'there are many who have

various opinions concerning religion.' A glance at entries and notices in bishops' registers and other records of the period will incline the student to see in the words an allusion to a considerable latent divergence of opinion on questions of belief and practice. We discover at intervals in the reign of Henry VII. evidence of prosecution for heresy, as for instance in 1489, when two laymen at Canterbury were indited for tenets characteristically Wycliffite, and similar cases occur in records of subsequent years. Savage example was made of the offender in more than one instance, as when an aged woman was burnt to death for heresy in 1494. Foxe, the martyrologist, who wrote about 1560 as a strong Protestant partisan (and yet in the main wrote accurate history), has preserved the history of many who suffered for their belief before 1500. With the new century the number increased rather than diminished, in spite of the punishments that had been inflicted. In 1505 a working-man called Brewster was convicted of rash words about pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar. His delight was to get away into the fields with a band of chosen friends, and there to listen whilst one of them read aloud from an old worn manuscript. Six years later Brewster was burnt, along with a friend called Sweeting, as a relapsed heretic. About that time Ammonius, writing from London to Erasmus, speaks jocularly of the scarcity of wood in England owing to the number of heretics, adding the significant words, 'and yet their numbers grow!' In 1512 a protracted convocation was held at St Paul's 'for the extirpation of heresy,' etc.,[1] and at this Colet preached

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' vol. ii. 4312.

a characteristic sermon in which he openly attacked such abuses as the worldliness of the clergy. He ended his discourse with a noble appeal to the members present, in which he used these words: 'Consider the miserable state and condition of the Church, and bend your whole minds to its reformation.'

Now the thing to be remembered in all this is that these instances of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the Church preceded the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany. No atom of German influence, so far as we know, came into England before 1517. Foreign influence, as we have seen, did come in, but it was at present the influence of Italy and not the influence of Germany. When, however, Luther took his stand in 1517 at Wittenberg, and began his attack upon the Church, the noise of his action did cross the sea, and, we shall find, early Lutheranism permeated this country. As it is beyond our scope to tell the story of the learned Augustinian friar, we must content ourselves by pointing to a few of its incidents. At the outset the attack was directed against one position, the indulgence system as it had grown up in the later Middle Ages. From this Luther was rapidly led on to assault various other parts of the medieval Church. The sympathy which he aroused in Germany is remarkable, for it becomes evident as we follow his story that he was giving voice to the secret convictions of a large number of the people. If an equally strong and resolute man had stood up at the same time in England he would almost certainly have had a similar following. But Luther's chief appeal lay not so much in his opposition to abuses in the Church, as in the new view which he emphasised of man's relation to God. Apart from this, his quarrel

with Rome would soon have been forgotten, but over and above his merciless denunciation of the practical abuses of the time there stands out in all its attractiveness the new theology, which caught and stirred the hearts of multitudes and then passed over the German Ocean to stimulate large numbers of the English people. Luther's brief against the medieval Church is contained in three treatises, which deserve the name given to them by a modern editor, who calls them 'Luther's Primary Works.' These are (1) 'The Liberty of a Christian Man'; (2) 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation'; (3) 'On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church.' They were written in 1520, and in them we find his characteristic theology and also his proposals for the reformation of the Church. The impression made by these books in Germany was profound: the second in particular, being written in German, rallied the people to the side of the reformation which Luther wished to see carried out.

The three treatises should be read in order to understand the nature of Luther's criticisms at this juncture. It must suffice to say very briefly that he was not only destructive, but constructive as well. He desired first of all to reduce the power of the Pope as supreme arbiter of the Church, and with it to reduce the power of the priesthood. Further, he wished to get rid of the whole indulgence system, with its wide influence upon life and belief, and also to do away with such institutions as celibacy of the clergy, masses for the dead, processions, interdicts, annates. He would not abolish monasteries, but would reform them and make them centres of Christian education. He would also reform the universities of the land and the general standard of living. As regards the individual

member of the Church, he would alter the whole conception of his relation to the grace of God. In this connexion Luther asserted, as his fundamental point, the doctrine of justification by faith, whereby the Church receded into the background and the relation of man to God became a personal transaction with the Saviour. He had no idea of dispensing with Church ordinances, but subordinated them to this personal contact between God and man. It was this emancipation of the individual from a system, and the emphasis laid upon personal contact with God, which came with the force of a new revelation to the minds of many who had been brought up in the old order of things.

The new theology which thus spread over Germany with great rapidity soon found an entrance into England. The evidence for this is complete, and if at first its chief lodgment was in London and on the East Coast, it soon penetrated farther. In the May of 1520 Erasmus told a correspondent that Luther's books were near being burnt in England.[1] In March of 1521 Archbishop Warham heard that the University of Oxford was infected with Lutheranism, and that many books forbidden by Wolsey had obtained circulation there.[2] The university authorities wished for a table of Lutheran writers who should be avoided by the students. About the same time Pope Leo X. was in active correspondence with Wolsey as to methods of suppression.[3] More public measures were taken, when, a year later than the above-mentioned letter of Erasmus, a great public burning of Lutheran books took place, under Wolsey's authority, in St Paul's Churchyard. Else-

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' vol. III., i. 810.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1193. [3] *Ibid.*, 1197 and 1210.

where abjuration of heresy was enforced, and the Bishop of London, Fitz-James, ordered the arrest of five hundred 'Lollards' in that same year. However the inflow of books did not cease, for it was reinforced during the next three years by the short tracts and treatises which began to be published in Germany. Moreover this spread of literature went on despite the fact that Henry VIII. despatched to Rome, in the summer of 1521, a book, purporting to be his own work, against the views of Luther, for which he gained the applause of Christendom and received from the Pope the title of *Fidei Defensor.*

But whilst the works of Luther were finding their way into England, a far greater book was being read by scholars both here and elsewhere. The Greek Testament of Erasmus, with the appended translation into Latin which he had made, was published in 1516. This was, indeed, the first printed Greek Testament to be published. Erasmus explains, in the exhortation prefacing the volume, what he intended by thus placing the book in the hands of his readers. It was to let men see for themselves how 'these books present us with a living image of the most holy mind of Christ.' We can trace the influence of this Greek Testament upon not a few of the leading scholars in England and on the Continent—such as Bishop Fox and Dean Colet, here; and abroad, Luther, Zwingli, and others. If it was received with unconcealed hostility by some, this merely proves their sense of its significance, whilst its manifest influence upon others of the more learned sort, who became in turn influential, places the Greek Testament of Erasmus in the front rank of the new forces which were at work in the early sixteenth century.

What has been said so far, in this chapter, will have

made it clear that a yeast of new ideas and principles was working widely in England in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and probably far more widely than we have accurate means for measuring. Before we close this sketch of the new forces, it will be well just to remind ourselves that there were other elements of change operating at the same time—change social, political, and economic, and that these factors obviously had their influence upon the people, producing an atmosphere of change, so to speak, which made many men more ready to surrender old methods and old ways than they would otherwise have been. For one thing, the mould of medieval society was breaking up. The social distinctions based upon feudalism were far less emphatic than they had been, and a greater fusion of classes was the result. A strong middle class was rapidly rising, and in the new century it gained increasing force, for the old nobility had lost power and prestige, and a new nobility, the creatures of the Tudors, was coming to the front, whilst the king was becoming a more important personage than he had been since the fourteenth century. Again, the condition and methods of trade were altering with far-reaching effect upon occupation and home life. New lines of commerce were being opened up since the accession of Henry VII., and new routes, with new trade centres, were being pursued. Old restrictions of trade began to be abandoned. Monopolies tended to disappear. Towns were growing, especially seaport towns, with the steady growth of trade, and were gathering into them the most energetic, industrious, and far-sighted of the craftsmen. Wealth was increasing, and the standard of comfort rising. Then, lastly, though its effect was not widely felt for some time,

the discovery of America and the voyages of the Cabots and others certainly tended to make men feel how small Christendom was, and accustomed them to think larger thoughts than did the more insular Englishmen of the middle of the fifteenth century. A little reflexion will convince the mind that the various elements of change just enumerated are no fancied factor in the alterations which we shall see, but that they had a considerable share in moulding the new England, and in producing the great movement which is called the Reformation of the Church of England.

CHAPTER IV

A QUARREL WITH ROME BEGINS

ENOUGH has been said to show that a new spirit was making itself felt in England quite early in the sixteenth century. The Renaissance had distinctly touched the better educated, and if we are quite unable to measure the extent of its influence in the first part of the reign of Henry VIII., the existence of such a spirit, with its strange fascination for many, must be taken into account and remembered as a solvent operating upon the old characteristics of the Church. It is reasonable to suppose that those who were caught by this spirit would assume a critical attitude towards existing institutions, and that much of the revolt against authority which we shall soon find setting in is directly due to its operation. We may call it free thought, or liberal thought, or what we will, but there it is, and we judge of its extent by the effects which we shall presently observe. The movement would have remained as in the main a critical and negative tendency inclining men to scepticism, and possibly degenerating, as it did in Italy, into semi-paganism, if it had not been for the religious reinforcement which accompanied it in England. We have seen reason to believe either that Lollardy was not really dead, or that something akin to it made itself conspicuous from time to time right up to and well into the reign of Henry VIII. We have also seen the rapid develop-

ment of Lutheranism in England almost coincidently with its spread in Germany, and the means taken to stamp it out. Persecution seldom obliterates a religious movement of any kind, and it is on the face of it improbable that Wolsey's measures of arrest succeeded: indeed, we shall find cause to believe that Lutheranism became an increasing power in the country after 1521.

Now history was, so far, merely repeating itself in the growth of these tendencies, critical and religious. The Church in alliance with the Lancastrian kings had crushed the previous movement a century before, and there was no reason why this arrest should not be repeated. No revolt against the Church was as yet dreamed of. It did not occur to anyone of position and importance that radical measures of reform would have to be taken.[1] Criticism and discontent require a long time to rise high enough to overflow the ordinary barriers in Church and State. Perhaps they never would have overflowed in the present instance, though it is profitless to speculate on what might have happened, had things gone otherwise than they did. But at any rate criticism and discontent were rising with some rapidity, and we have now to see how a chain of circumstances forced a vent through which they presently poured in full volume. The story of these circumstances is connected with Henry VIII., and will need telling rather fully as the narrative illustrates many things connected with the condition of the affairs of the Church at that time.

Henry VIII. would have left his mark upon any age. He possessed many of the qualities of character which

[1] The famous sermon of Colet in 1512 appeals not for legislation but for the enforcement of existing laws.

make men not only remarkable in themselves, but impressive as influences upon their generation. He had the strong physique and the buoyant health which no fatigue could weary and no disappointment could permanently depress. He was eager, active, and interested in everything that came to his notice. Much as he loved pleasure, business, in his early days at all events, had absorbing attractions for him. From the first, too, he knew what helpers to choose, and he had that imperious charm, not given to all sovereigns, which made servants his willing slaves. Taught by events and the rapidly increasing volume of State and diplomatic affairs, he served a long apprenticeship from which he emerged, as the years went on, a shrewd, wary, and discreet statesman. Even as a boy of eighteen, at his accession, he was not the mere boisterous athlete longing to enjoy the independence and power of his new position, with its endless opportunity for the delights so dear to youth, but already a man of business capacity and address. Moreover, he had powers and advantages which entirely fitted him for the particular age in which his lot was cast. For the first time within near or living memory, the King had an undisputed title to his throne. To his shrewd, saving, and careful father he owed a full exchequer, excellent trade prospects, and a vastly improved relationship with foreign powers. He was in direct sympathy, too, with the intellectual aspirations of the time, for the Renaissance had been welcomed in the Court of Henry VII., and the children of the old King had been brought up under the ablest teachers within the circle of the best literary and educational tendencies of the time. He was a reader and a thinker, and when theological and constitutional problems pressed upon

him later in his reign, he owed something of the conclusions which he adopted not to caprice or the impulse of the moment, but to the power of research and reflexion which his student days had bestowed upon him. In the universal outburst of extravagant loyalty and enthusiasm that greeted the young monarch, no one marked the very distinct blemishes of character which the event makes obvious, and which were even then apparent in inordinate self-assertion and the animal instincts of his rude, healthy frame. Yet at the moment there was nothing to make these elements over-prominent.

It is necessary to follow the course of his early married life, since that is the key to what followed. Various marriage projects for the young Duke of York had been discussed in the early years of the century. Then Arthur, Prince of Wales, died, and, just as Margaret was leaving on her famous progress to the Court of James, Henry was betrothed to the young Spanish Princess Katharine, whose marriage to the heir had been such a triumph in the old King's diplomacy. We must understand that by the Canon Law of the day a marriage with a deceased husband's brother could only be effected by papal dispensation, which was the supreme power invoked for the regulation of all doubtful or prohibited marriages. However, the evident desire of Henry VII. and of the Spanish Queen Isabella was gratified, the dispensation was given, and no scruple was raised. So the fateful wedding took place within a month of Henry's accession. There can be no doubt that the marriage was at first very happy, and that the early years of the reign were a continual round of delight to the young pair.

Time went on, and Henry's attention began to turn

from the attractions of Court life, and the felicities of his unclouded home, to the wider and more engrossing interests of politics. An eager ambition began to manifest itself in the young King, and he took the first steps towards pushing England out into that more commanding position in the international relations of the day which his ambitious patriotism desired to see her occupy. He was a young monarch ruling over a compact and wealthy kingdom, and for the first time for a century the friendship of England was worth cultivating. It was curious how destiny seemed to be filling important places with young men. In 1515 Francis I. became King of France, and France, like England, was compact, enthusiastic, and prosperous. Next year Charles succeeded to the throne of a united Spain, and also, in right of his mother, to a large series of dominions in the Netherlands, whilst the vast Spanish possessions beyond the Atlantic were his. When in 1519 this same Charles was elected emperor, and held, in addition to the countries already named, territories in and near Austria, the sum total of his dominions seemed to the men of that generation to amount to something like world-wide sovereignty. Charles (who was nephew to the Queen of England), Francis, and Henry were rivals in the game of European politics, and the story of their moves and counter-moves, now in alliance and now in opposition, makes up the intricate drama of the next few years. Wolsey was the King of England's adviser and minister in the part that Henry took, and the record of his diplomatic correspondence shows how steadily and surely, on the whole, the position of England improved as a European power. But into all these complexities of political history we need not enter now, beyond saying that the

victory over Scotland at Flodden in 1513, Henry's first foreign campaign against France, 1512-1514, and the operation of England's influence in the rivalry between Charles and Francis, 1521-1529, are so many stages in the rising prestige and importance of England.

During this period of increasing absorption in the politics of Europe, Henry's domestic life was a purely secondary interest to him, and Katharine lost much of the influence that she at first exerted over the King. Wolsey had quite usurped her place as trusted adviser, and the ascendency of men of the older school began to fade away. Day by day Wolsey was increasingly the power behind the throne. Events happened which made the Queen more and more the neglected wife. Several children were born, but four died in the first five years of the reign, and the only one that lived was the Princess Mary. We, with the familiar traditions of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria in English history before us, do not realise what the prospects of the succession meant to people at that time. Visions of a renewal of the Wars of the Roses floated before them. Henry's disappointment was intense, and was embittered by the action of the Queen's nephew, who on more than one occasion had treated him with less than consideration in the political game that they were playing. As early as 1514 Henry was reported to be threatening his wife with a divorce. At first, it is probable, the threat was made in a fit of pique; but when, a little later than this, the rivalry with Charles and Francis began to develop, the question of the succession became a more urgent problem. There were even thoughts of declaring a base-born son of Henry heir to the crown, and, perhaps, of betrothing him to the Princess Mary. The Pope himself, whose whole attitude to the question

from first to last is an eloquent commentary on papal ethics, was ready to facilitate this union between children of the same father if the idea of divorce were given up. Gradually, however, the thought of divorce assumed practical shape in the King's mind, and Henry may be believed to have been in earnest when he represented that the anger of heaven against his marriage was clearly evidenced by his lack of an heir. It is pretty well acknowledged now, that as pique had first suggested divorce to him, so superstition renewed the idea, and fickleness towards Katharine kept it continually before him. It is certain that the passion which he conceived for Anne Boleyn only stimulated his desire for the divorce, and did not produce it.

We have now reached the year 1527. Proposals for the hand of Mary appear to have brought up into discussion the legitimacy of Henry's marriage. He had by this time persuaded himself that in God's sight he had never been married at all, and that the original dispensation was null and void. The aged Fox was consulted. A mock trial was arranged to argue out the whole question of the validity of the marriage, and in these proceedings the assistance of Wolsey was solicited. It was a difficult position, for the very idea of reconsidering a dispensation which had been reluctantly given was to assume a critical attitude towards the papal ruling. Wolsey, unwilling to thwart the King's growing determination to get the divorce, fully felt the extreme delicacy of the matter, and clearly saw the awkward relations which might ensue. His dilemma was complete when he faced the certain result of the divorce if granted, and that was Anne's marriage with Henry. Her family, which had now assumed some importance, was closely connected with a strong

anti-clerical party, rapidly forming up under the steadily increasing influence of Lutheranism. It was a cruel spite that called the Cardinal to meddle in a problem of such grave complexity. Wolsey had been in his way a real reformer, and had used his wealth and magnificence, despite the gravest defects in his own life and character, to set forward the best educational interests in the Church. Ten years before this juncture he had set to work to capture the universities in order to bring them under the influence of the Renaissance, and so through them to leaven the Church by a more intellectual training of the clergy. In the multiplicity of his work his plans had not been fully carried out, but the famous design of the great Cardinal College at Oxford shows the kind of scheme that he was contemplating in a reconstructed university. He had no idea of aiding the spread of Lutheranism, rather the opposite; and he had no sympathy with the revived Lollardy that was spreading in England. Yet he had begun to assume an attitude towards the Papacy which if it cannot be truly described as anti-papal, was, at all events, unsympathetic, and surprising in one who had lately been created Legate for life. It was, however, quite another thing for the Cardinal Legate to be forced into an attitude of something like hostility to Rome.

And now the great question went beyond the stage of discussion and conference in England when it was directly referred to the Pope. The strong line would have been to refuse to allow the matter to be reopened. Whatever the consequences, such action would have commanded general respect. Never in the history of the Papacy had a more trying moment been seen. The recent sack of Rome by the Imperial troops, as a

punishment for a piece of political intrigue on the part of the Pope, had placed Clement VII. in the position of a prisoner. His dilemma was great. To annul the marriage of Henry was to anger Katharine's nephew, the Emperor Charles, who was already the Pope's captor; not to mention the grave difficulty of upsetting the original dispensation for the marriage, especially after an interval of so many years. On the other hand, a quarrel with Henry, if the Pope refused a divorce, meant the certain secession of the wealthy kingdom of England from communion with Rome, and the ruin of Wolsey, the Pope's representative in England. This eventuality was carefully brought to the Pope's notice, and he was told distinctly that the anti-papal party in England were already prompting Henry to defy him and take the law into his own hands.[1] Clement could not commit himself to either alternative, and what followed was an object-lesson to Christendom, which did more to show up the human side of the Papacy, and to undermine its influence, than anything that had happened. The Pope's extremity obviously dictated his movements rather than the real merits of the question, for all men knew that Henry's sister Margaret had obtained a divorce, and that his brother-in-law, Louis of France, had been similarly successful. We need not detail the various expedients of the harassed Pope to gain time. When, after an interval, the power of Charles seemed to be waning, the Pope began to show more alacrity, but even so delays were made, and only after an interval of two years was a commission issued to Cardinal Campeggio to try the case in England. Even then procrastination marked every step of the proceedings, and for such a policy

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' Iv. 4897

secret orders had been given. At last the Emperor set himself to work, and the whole case was summoned from England to Rome. Obviously there had been no such thing as good faith in the action of the Pope throughout, and Henry saw that no decision in his favour would ever be pronounced. So ended the last legatine court in England (save during Mary's reign), and Wolsey assured the Pope that the papal action would result in the loss of England to the Apostolic See.

We have reached the late summer of 1529. It may be well to stop for a moment and to take stock of the spread of Lutheranism in England since its public proscription at the great *auto-da-fé* in St Paul's Churchyard eight years before. When Fisher preached his sermon on that notorious occasion, Oxford, as we have seen, was widely infected by the views of Luther, and indeed a list has been preserved showing that in 1520 a university bookseller had several of his works for sale.[1] At Cambridge about the same time a little knot of students were accustomed to meet at one of the inns, and to discuss the new views imported from Germany. The names of some of them are well known, for the list includes such men as Cranmer, Coverdale, Bilney, Barnes, Crowe, Lambert, and, last but not least, Tyndale. Each one of these men was a scholar of repute; each one imbibed the teachings of the great reformer; each one in his own way came to fame or position in the course of the religious changes which soon came into being as a consequence of the new forces at work. The place where they gathered was nicknamed Germany, and the debates which originated there seem to have had the effect of producing much

[1] Oxford Hist. Soc., 'Collectanea,' 1885, p. 164.

religious contention in the university. Hence Sir Thomas More, as High Steward of Cambridge, tried to check the dissensions which resulted, and Wolsey, disappointed by secret leanings to Lutheranism in his new foundation at Oxford, tried to correct similar excesses at the sister university. The Cambridge scholars were mostly preachers of the new doctrine in the next few years, and Bilney, Coverdale, and Barnes soon got into trouble for their evangelistic zeal. Their efforts were fairly widespread, suggested, it may be, by what they had heard of Wycliffe's 'Poor Priests.' William Tyndale, a man of deep piety, profound learning, but not always of corresponding judgment, had set his heart even from his Cambridge days on translating the Bible into the vernacular. He found it politic to begin his great work abroad, and copies of his New Testament with marginal glosses appeared in England about 1525, and were distributed with great activity. Translations of the Scriptures were not necessarily contraband, but old ecclesiastical canons, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, proscribed translations unauthorised by those whose duty it was to give approval to such works. The version of Tyndale was at once suspected, because it came in from abroad, had no imprimatur, and translated many words of doctrinal importance by terms that seemed to be wrong or misleading. At first there was no machinery to stop the dissemination of the book, and the first check given to its spread was in 1526, when an index of prohibited books for the diocese of London was drawn up by Tunstall, including Tyndale's New Testament, and a curious tract of one Fish, a lawyer, called 'The Supplication of Beggars,' which was directed against

the doctrine of Purgatory, and evidences some movement of discussion about it. Archbishop Warham joined Tunstall in destroying Tyndale's translation, so indirectly increasing its sale. Tyndale now began to add other books, and in 1528 two of importance—'The Wicked Mammon,' and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man'—found their way into England. Both these books had wide influence. Of the former Sir Thomas More said that by it 'many a man has been beguiled and brought into many wicked heresies.' Its main idea is to take the Parable of the Unjust Steward as a subject for comment, and to build up by this means an elaborate defence of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. By 'The Obedience,' said More, 'we are taught to disobey the teaching of Christ's Catholic Church, and set His holy Sacraments at naught.' It is the longest of Tyndale's works, and exhibits very clearly his characteristic position. Indeed, the book may be described as an apology for the Reformation from the point of view taken by Tyndale.

It was to stem the tide of heretical opinion produced by such books that More in 1528 wrote his 'Dialogue,' which criticised Tyndale's translation and defended certain practices such as image worship, pilgrimages, and prayers to saints, which were being called in question. In his 'Supplication of Souls' he answered 'The Supplication of Beggars,' and upheld the doctrine of Purgatory. About this time writings of a Socialistic tendency were coming in from Germany and openly advising the spoiling of the Church. Lutheranism proper was in no way responsible for such writings, but it was not easy for the authorities in England to discriminate. Sir Thomas More was specially asked to answer the German literature, and when a

man of his eminence was called into requisition to oppose the new tenets, the fact cannot have failed to direct attention not only to his replies, but also to the works which he attacked. Some effort was made in these years (1521-1529) to enforce the examination and abjuration of heretics, and Foxe has preserved a good many names of those who were brought to renounce their opinions. Looking back over the period, More said: 'We have had some years, of late, plenteous of evil books. For they have grown up so fast and sprung up so thick, full of pestilent errors and pernicious heresies, that they have infected and killed, I fear me, more simple souls than the famine of the dear years have destroyed bodies.' That even some of high position were infected is proved by various allusions and references, as, for instance, when in 1529 the Prior of Reading was imprisoned for Lutheranism.[1]

It was in this way, then, that the circumstances of Henry's divorce produced strained relations between the King and the Pope, at the very moment that a tide of Lutheranism was rising higher and higher in the country. The Church had crossed the King's path and had deliberately flouted his will. Henry determined to avenge himself upon the Pope, and upon the clergy too,[2] and in this silent resolve, which events prove that

[1] 'The Lutheran Movement in England,' by Dr H. E. Jacobs, deals with the development and influence of Lutheranism in England, but the earlier years still require examination in fuller detail.

[2] Henry himself had shown a distinctly anti-clerical tendency long before this. He had altered the form of the coronation oath before he consented to take it in 1509. He qualified the promise to 'maintain the liberties of Holy Church' by adding the words, 'not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal.' Bishop Stubbs says: 'If we may believe the law reporters, as early as 1515 he had declared himself determined not to allow any superiority of external spiritual courts in a country

he made, he was aware that he could count upon an anti-clerical spirit which was rapidly widening. The sequel will show how he humbled the clergy and abolished the power of the Pope.

of which he was sovereign, and there are signs in Wolsey's history that the imminent danger of the King taking advantage of the statute of Præmunire was in his mind long before he was actually sacrificed' ('Lectures on Medieval and Modern History,' p. 253 [291]).

CHAPTER V

EARLY YEARS OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT

WOLSEY had warned the Pope of the consequences if the divorce should be denied. We are now to see how the Cardinal's prophecy came true, and how his own ruin preceded the momentous steps by which the Church of England was set free from papal dominion. The solid, determined strength of the King now began to show itself, and the calm self-control which he exercised, and which rigidly kept under any desire to show passion or resentment at the issue of the Legatine Court, is truly remarkable in a man who had always been impulsive. Before the summer ended, Anne Boleyn took up her residence with the King at Greenwich, and lost no time in urging Henry to dispense with the services of Wolsey, who for the last seventeen years had been his right hand and support. Others near the King joined in promoting the favourite's downfall. The method actually chosen was worthy of a pettifogging lawyer, but it is of a piece with the long series of royal actions which now commenced, and which were largely based upon the forms of law. Wolsey was declared guilty of the penalties of Præmunire, an ancient and practically inoperative statute which forbade obtaining from Rome any 'bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever,' under pain of outlawry and forfeiture of goods. This penalty, it was alleged, Wolsey had incurred by acting as papal

legate in England, and by exercising those very powers which Henry had hoped to see issue in a sentence of divorce! Wolsey was further turned out of his office as Lord Chancellor, and Sir Thomas More, a layman, significantly took the place of the clerical chancellor.

Henry was thus feeling his way to that attack upon the power of the Church in England which soon developed with startling rapidity. It was wise to proceed cautiously, for Emperor and Pope were drawing closer together in sympathy than they had ever yet been, and France was beginning to forgive Charles the humiliation of recent years. Henry was practically isolated, for the people at large took the side of Katharine and were alienated from him. It was necessary to have the nation at his back, or at all events that very important part of it which represented the nation in Parliament. Moreover, after the vast expenses of the late wars, some recourse to the people for money could not long be delayed. Accordingly, for the first time in six years, a Parliament was summoned to meet; but the King and his close advisers had longer thoughts in calling it than merely the voting of a grant, or even an appeal to the country. With the secrecy and silence which the Tudors knew how to use in great crises, the Parliament was in reality summoned to strike a blow at the power of the clergy and of Rome. Those who were in a position to see behind the scenes knew well that this was the real object that the King had in view.[1] Doubtless there was no definite programme, but Henry must have had a fairly clear idea as to the general line that he meant to pursue when Parliament opened, for, as the event proves, the action taken was fairly

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' iv. 6011.

consistent, and clearly indicates some general pre-arranged line of action.

Thus the great Reformation Parliament, the most revolutionary and important of all the English Parliaments, met towards the end of 1529. There is evidence that it was packed, but the extent of the packing has perhaps been exaggerated, and there is no reason to doubt that it fairly represented a change of tone and sympathy in England which had been growing up during the reign. England to some extent had become anti-clerical in the last twenty years, and a growing estrangement, not towards the Church and religion, but towards the existing constitution of the Church, was manifesting itself. The opportunity which Parliament presented for expressing this feeling was utilised. The whole tone of the assembly assumes the existence of a widening breach between the laity and the clergy,[1] and this was scarcely surpassed in the Long Parliament of 1640. The first session was short, but it succeeded in taking up various aspects of the grievances felt, and in passing three Acts against the privileges of the clergy. The chief point at which the pinch was felt was the question of fees which were paid to the clergy. It is easy to exaggerate a money grievance, and many heated things were said as the Commons took up the several items to which objection was made; but as we look at them it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that reform was necessary. The first discussion concerned the fees paid for proving wills. In those days, and until

[1] See 'A Treatise concerning the division between the Spiritualty and Temporalty,' published in 1532, and more particularly the significant sentence in which the writer says: 'Now of late the great multitude of all the lay people have found default, as well at priests as religious, so far forth that it is now in manner noted through all the realm that there is a great division between the spiritualty and temporalty,' pp. 2, 3.

recently, all testamentary business was in the hands of the clergy, and instances were freely quoted in which enormous fees for probate were demanded. Similarly with the custom of paying mortuaries, or recognised gifts to the clergy at the time of burial, exaction and lack of charity were laid to the charge of the clergy. It was said again that tithes were pressed ungenerously, and that holders of benefices were frequently pluralists who could not possibly do their duty by their various cures. Bishop Fisher of Rochester, one of the holiest and most influential of the prelates, tried to mediate in the House of Lords, and pointed out the unreasonable character of the Commons, who seemed to have taken up the agitator's cry, 'Down with the Church.' Eventually three Acts were passed: one to regulate the Church Courts, and so to meet the chief objections as to probate and other fees; a second dealing with mortuary dues; and a third to check the evils of pluralism and non-residence. The whole thing, however, is significant, for older legislation had defined the frontiers of the sphere of the Church, and had then left it to work within those limits. Now Parliament was taking in hand the reformation of the Church, a thing unheard of hitherto; and this at a time when Convocation itself was sitting. True, Convocation did take up certain points of internal reformation which were of considerable importance, but only noticed the questions specially discussed in Parliament in order to protest against the action of Parliament, and to insist upon the privileges of the clergy. The winter session of 1529 inaugurated that manipulation of the Church by the State which had never yet been seen, but was destined to be almost continuous in succeeding Parliaments, and to culminate in the acts of uniformity.

Certainly, in profession, this Church legislation was meant to be salutary, and, as the Act against pluralism asserted, 'for the more quiet and virtuous increase and maintenance of divine service, the preaching and teaching the word of God, with godly and goodly example giving.'[1] Who is to say authoritatively that such language was hypocritical? At all events the courage of the Pluralities Act must be acknowledged in its direct defiance of the Pope when it denied him the right of providing one man to several benefices. This note was the prelude to what followed as regards Rome.

So the Parliament turned out to have been called in reality 'for the enormities of the clergy,' as Hall, the old chronicler of the period, tells us. Meanwhile an episode of some interest had been taking place which introduces us to a prominent character in the more attractive side of the Reformation history. At first, however, he meets us in connexion with the political aspect of what was going forward. Just after the Legate had prorogued his court in 1529, a young Cambridge Don, Thomas Cranmer, who was residing with pupils near St Albans, was brought into contact with some of the King's retinue whilst hunting. He entered into conversation with them upon the engrossing topic of the moment, and was asked his opinion as to the King's divorce. He affected a tone of contempt towards the methods of canon law, and suggested consulting the universities of Europe, which were the natural courts of appeal on questions of theology. This advice reported to the King was warmly received, and the opportunity proved to be Cranmer's first stepping-stone to position and influence. He was at once retained to sound the foreign universities on the ques-

[1] 21 Henry VIII., cap. 13.

tion of the legitimacy of the marriage with Katharine, whilst others consulted the home universities; and with this object in view he set out from England soon after Parliament rose, and made his way with certain colleagues to the great French universities, and then to Italy. Within a few months the envoys had collected a large mass of learned opinion on the question of the divorce, with which they returned to England. We may notice here that Cranmer had acquitted himself so well in all this that he was sent a year or two later to Germany as Ambassador to the Emperor and the German Princes for certain political objects. The fact is only mentioned because it constitutes a link in the story of Cranmer's development, as it shows him a man of affairs and wide travel, brought into contact with Lutheranism in Germany, and also because he now married, cleric as he was, a niece of the reforming Osiander. What he saw and learned in these journeys had an undoubted influence upon his subsequent career.

Whilst Cranmer was on the Continent gathering the opinions of the foreign universities, another of the periodic waves of Lutheranism, to which attention has been called, was breaking upon England. It is essential to notice these successive deluges as they went to swell the steadily rising volume of Lutheran sympathy in this country. There seems to be reason for believing that the literature now imported was of a more popular character than the Latin volumes which had been read by Cambridge students and others ten years before. There were Englishmen abroad, including Tyndale himself, and, as printing-presses multiplied, pamphlets and books in English were brought in, and a native propaganda was said

to be maintaining itself in London, whence it discharged its contribution to the flood. The success which attended these efforts cheered those who promoted the work, and they predicted the speedy triumph of their doctrines in high quarters; but though it was reported that the King read such books, the English authorities in general strove their best to repress the tide. An index of prohibited works was drawn up by royal order; an oath was administered to all in authority to extirpate heresy; another great bonfire was lit in St Paul's Churchyard. The chief fuel this time was not the great treatises of Luther, but the English New Testament of Tyndale, with its controversial commentary which was rapidly permeating the land, and, as Bishop Nix of Norwich complained, was proving an attraction that passed his powers to suppress. It is a singular lack of imagination which fails to see in this wide spread of a New Testament, in substance our own, a potent force in the spiritual education of those who surreptitiously read it or listened as others read aloud. From the ashes of the fire a phœnix was to arise before long, when Oxford and Cambridge supplied, at the King's order, a joint committee of divines, and recommended a pure translation of the Bible to supersede imperfect and erroneous versions. The task of translation was to be entrusted to the two universities. The date of this promise is 1530.

We now pass from the interludes which followed the first attack of Henry upon the Church to the second great act in the drama. Those first scenes had inaugurated the humbling of the clergy. It would seem that after the first session of Parliament the King had strengthened his determination to crush

the spiritualty. It has been assumed by some that he was indignant with their opposition to the divorce; by others that his action was a bribe to the people who hated the clergy; by others, still, that he was only pursuing an anti-clerical policy which he had long since marked out. He acted and did not give his reasons: we are left to discover them. The conviction increases, as we study what took place, that a new adviser was already influencing the King's anti-clericalism. This was Thomas Cromwell, a man of curious antecedents and roving life, one of the shrewdest and ablest men of business on the whole field of history. Few more interesting problems baffle the student than the development and character of Cromwell's influence upon Henry. However this may be, the point to be attained was the further reduction of clerical power. A commencement was made with the same instrument which had been used upon Wolsey. The whole body of the clergy was convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having come within the penalties of the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. If Wolsey had been justly condemned under the latter statute, the guilt of the clergy, and, indeed, of the whole people, followed his action, since the statute expressly included in the penalty all 'abettors and favourers' of the guilty party. Undoubtedly the clergy had acquiesced in Wolsey's position as papal legate. Henry was wise enough not to see that he himself was the worst offender of all in having actively promoted the suit, but his real astuteness in the procedure adopted lay in his appreciation of what he would gain by inflicting the penalties of præmunire upon the clergy. 'Their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to our Lord the King': so ran

the old statute,[1] and the King had long since depleted the overflowing exchequer of his prudent father, whilst war with Spain was imminent now that the King had flouted the Pope and was living with Katharine's rival. The absolute confiscation of Church property and the outlawry of the whole body, however, was a step which even Henry would not venture to take, and in the event a composition was made on the understanding that the clergy would pay a large sum to the King, and would acknowledge Henry to be the 'Supreme Head of the Church and clergy of England, and that the cure of souls is entrusted to him.' This acknowledgment was to be a *sine qua non*. Anxious deliberation followed in Convocation. It is almost tempting to believe that threats were used to which we now have no clue, for surely an emphatic refusal and an appeal of the clergy of England to the Emperor and Pope would have issued in the collapse of the King's demands before the sympathy of Europe. The result of the prolonged debate was again a compromise by which the clergy subscribed the final declaration: 'We acknowledge his Majesty to be the singular Protector only, and Supreme Lord, and so far as the laws of Christ allow, even Supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy.' The import of this startling admission demands consideration. At the very least it meant that Henry was intending to be his own pope, and to declare his own divorce which Pope Clement had first prohibited by a brief issued a month before; but as Bishop Tunstall, a sage and learned prelate, pointed out, the phrase was capable of being distorted 'by the weak or the malignant.'

Though mulcted of a sum equivalent to nearly two

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 125, A.D. 1393. 16 Richard II., c. 5.

million pounds of our money, and obliged to set up a lay pope in England, the clergy still held in their hands a vast power. Until the point that we have now reached Convocation had been, in the sixteenth century, the legislative assembly of the Church of England. Its canons, when there was need to frame such laws, were introduced, discussed, and passed according to the ancient and venerable procedure of the provincial synods of the land, and once passed could be enforced by the regular ecclesiastical courts. The canons did not affect the spiritualty alone, but in many instances the laity as well, and they were passed and put in use without any reference to king or Commons. This right of laying what burdens they pleased upon the consciences of the people, and, so far as ecclesiastical fees went, on their pockets as well, was a right and privilege of the Church which had been maintained hitherto without difficulty, if not without protest. The new lay pope, however, instigated by Cromwell, intended to alter all this, and to do away with the clergy's power of irresponsible legislation. Accordingly, under the direction of the new minister, a petition was drawn up and put into the mouth of the Commons.[1] The document drew attention to the power referred to, and also to various grievances in connexion with the clergy, some already ventilated in the debates of Parliament in 1529, and others now first heard of, such as 'subtle interrogatories concerning the high mysteries of our faith,' leading to vexatious punishment. The last-named grievances were certainly not imaginary, but reflect the tumult of opinion consequent upon the spread of Lutheranism, and the action taken to suppress it. Convocation was aware of what was likely to follow

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 145.

this petition, and was already justifying its still untouched power of legislation by drawing up a series of really useful canons in order to stave off further interference.[1] From these its attention was diverted to the King's order to consider and answer the petition of the Commons. In a dignified reply Convocation not only vindicated its rights, but also its recent action in matters of heresy, begging the King to protect it in the discharge of its spiritual office.

The King had no idea of accepting the apology of Convocation, and, after further negotiations, pressed upon it his demand that it should surrender its power of making canons without the royal licence. To this was added the further demand that all existing canons should be specially revised by a committee to be appointed for the purpose. He also pointed out that the bishops at consecration took an oath of fealty to the Pope, which was absolutely inconsistent with the oath to the sovereign. At last, on the 15th of May 1532, the clergy in Convocation assented to the King's demands, and signed the document known as the 'Submission of the Clergy.' This Act constitutes one of the greatest landmarks in the history of Church and State. The clergy lost thereby a great part of their power over the laity for the time to come, and submitted what they still held to the tender mercies of a revision which might wholly emasculate it. The submission of the clergy constituted the spiritual emancipation of the laity.

The first blast against the papal power had already been sounded.[2] A second followed in the same Parliament of 1532 that had sent up the petition against the clergy. It is probable that by this time the relation-

[1] See H. A. L. Fisher, 313-4. [2] Above, p. 70.

ship of Henry and Anne might at any moment urge her to demand the long-suspended declaration of divorce. Clement, as we have seen, showed no sign of yielding, but a potent argument, as yet unused, might be employed. The Pope was always in want of money, and now not less, certainly, than usual. A considerable source of revenue from wealthy England consisted of the annates which were regularly collected and paid over. Inquiry yielded the fact that a period of less than fifty years had produced a yearly papal income of nearly £40,000 of modern money from episcopal first-fruits. It was worth while trying the experiment of a threat to withhold these 'great and inestimable sums of money.' A bill was drawn up accordingly. Annates were to be abolished,[1] and no fees for episcopal bulls were to be paid to Rome. The Act was distinctly conditional, and power was given to the King to confirm or to abrogate it.[2] This paved the way for two results of importance. First, the marriage of Henry and Anne took place when it suited their convenience; and secondly, Cranmer, having returned from his embassy in the early weeks of 1533, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Warham. Thus the King and Queen, uneasily contemplating the effect of their marriage in the eyes of Europe, provided an archbishop who was ready to sanction the alliance, and to pronounce the divorce.

Parliament met again forthwith, and almost its first care was to obviate the risk of an appeal to Rome on Katharine's part, and to assure, so far as Parliament could, the finality of any decree of the Archbishop.

[1] Henry had moved against annates in 1528 before Parliament met. Strype, 'E. M.,' I. i. 168, and I. ii. 84.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 178. 23 Henry VIII., c. 20.

The Act for the restraint of appeals, which embodied this double purpose, forms another landmark of constitutional history. The Annates Act took away the income tax paid to the Pope. The Appeals Act was aimed at the Pope's authority in the land. It begins by asserting that on the authority of 'divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles . . . this realm of England is an empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king'; that it is competent to decide all questions affecting either spiritualty or temporalty 'without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons.'[1] The Act then recites the evils that have risen from appeals, and ordains that for the future only sentences declared in courts within the realm shall be observed and obeyed. It also defines the direction that appeals are to take, specifying that in the case now depending, and in any other that may concern the King, the appeal lies to the Upper House of Convocation for final determination. Thus fortified, nothing remained save to pronounce the divorce, and this Cranmer did in April 1533.

Henry's action so far, and more particularly the events of 1533—the marriage of the King, the Appeals Act, the declaration of divorce by Cranmer—amounted to a challenge to Catholic Europe. The Pope probably conformed to general sentiment when he drew up a bill of excommunication in which Henry while living was cut off from the Church, and when dead was consigned to the torments of hell. But no rising took place in England, and no armada was launched by the Emperor. Charles was unable or unwilling to take up the gauntlet, the King of France was friendly though far from sympathetic, and Englishmen began to breathe freely once

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 187. 24 Henry VIII., c. 12.

more as autumn verged to winter. We now approach the three months' session of Parliament in 1534 which completed the downfall of the papal power in England, and clinched the submission of the clergy. The King's motives in the sequel will be diversely interpreted, though he himself professed that in his action: 'he desires to cause Jesus Christ to be recognised who alone is the patron of Christians; and he will cause the word to be preached, and not the canons and decrees of the Pope.'[1] The same secrecy and reserve obscures the steps taken. At the outset care was exercised to secure the sympathy of Parliament, and it is supposed by some that Henry had further thoughts than the mere abolition of papal power. Three Acts of Parliament finished the work so far as the latter object was concerned.

The submission of the clergy had been effected in the form of a writ in 1532, and this had been signed by Convocation and confirmed in the Commons.[2] The Lords threw it out when the bill then came up to them. The more complaisant Parliament of 1534 passed the bill at once,[3] and so endorsed the action of the clergy in surrendering their power of making canons. They also endorsed the Appeals Act of 1533, which was tacked to the submission with some modification as to the direction of appeals. For the present the Final Court of Appeal in Church suits was to the King in Chancery.

In the next place a still more composite Act was passed, aimed entirely against the papal power. It confirmed the conditional restraint of annates which

[1] 'Letters and Papers,' vi. 1435, 1479, quoted by Pollard. 'Henry VIII.,' p. 316.
[2] Above, p. 76.
[3] Gee and Hardy, p. 195. 25 Henry VIII., c. 19.

had been threatened. It did away with all papal interference in the appointment of bishops and archbishops, and with all 'bulls, briefs, or palls,' hitherto customary in such connexion. It further regulated the election, homage, confirmation, and consecration of bishops after the manner which is still followed to-day.[1]

Lastly an Act was passed forbidding papal dispensations, and the payment of Peter's Pence. By this, every 'licence, dispensation, composition, faculty, grant, rescript, delegacy, instrument,' hitherto obtainable at Rome, was to be procured within the realm. There was no idea of abolishing such things, but where the Pope had so far been accustomed to grant them, the Archbishop of Canterbury was to have the like authority in his stead. Bishops might still dispense 'in all cases in which they were wont to dispense by the common law or custom of this realm.' Any indulgences previously given by Rome were to hold good, but if they conflicted with the laws of the realm the King had power to order, redress, and reform them. At the same time in the spirit of the Annates Act of 1532 it was specially affirmed that nothing in the Act was to be construed as if King or people 'intend by the same to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture and the word of God necessary for your and their salvations.'[2]

Notice should also be taken of two other enactments of the session. By a special statute the laity were rescued from the captious attempts to bring them into the Church courts on charges of heresy which the

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 201. 25 Henry VIII., c. 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 210. 25 Henry VIII., c. 21.

religious oscillation of the period made frequent. The desire was not to abolish such trials — indeed, the promotors of the Act made it more easy to prosecute— but to make it harder for the clergy to convict unfairly. It now became necessary for the suit to be instituted by lay authorities supported by two lay witnesses. The legislation was finally rounded off by the Succession Act, which, for the present, made the baby Princess Elizabeth, born in the previous September, the legitimate heir to the throne. A foretaste of what was to come was given in the bitter penalties attached to any defamation or slander uttered or written against the King's marriage or his heirs. It was further enacted that an oath should be taken of all subjects of full age who should swear to the succession as contained in the statute.[1]

So ended the brief but momentous session of Henry's twenty-fifth year. Its legislation, taken in connexion with that of previous sessions, had entirely altered the constitution of the Church of England. As the fabric of the medieval Church falls in ruin about us, it is difficult to realise in the din and dust of the process how vast the change that little more than four years had effected. The transformation was almost complete, and little remained to be done now to distort the framework of the Church almost beyond recognition. That little, however, would occupy some years, and would require an amount of ruthlessness which surpassed all that had yet been carried out.

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 232. 25 Henry VIII., c. 22.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF TERROR, 1534-1540

HENRY had certainly learnt his power in the events of the last few years. From the spring of 1534 he developed into a tyrant, and strove to crush all who crossed his path or questioned the supremacy which he was erecting. It is a constant wonder, as we read the story, that his subjects did not rise to overwhelm him, or that the Catholic powers abroad did not unite to check his astonishing career. However, succeeding events show clearly that both at home and on the Continent there were reasons to prevent such thwarting of his unresisted autocracy. The first victim of the tyrant was a poor hysterical servant-girl named Elizabeth Barton, whose supposed prophecies had attracted wide attention and aroused execration against the King. Her cruel death acted as a warning whilst the oath to the succession prescribed by the late statute was being administered. Few were courageous enough to refuse the oath, but Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher declined it and were put in prison: what was objected to in the form of oath was not merely the pledge to Anne and her issue, but the repudiation of any 'foreign authority or potentate.' So far as the clergy went, this repudiation was made even more specific, for under royal pressure the convocations of the two provinces were obliged to decree 'that the Bishop of Rome has not in Scripture any greater juris-

diction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop.'[1] What Convocation thus acknowledged by the representatives of the clergy was next made binding upon individual clerics, who were obliged to subscribe the assertion with their own signatures. Whilst this was done through the metropolitans, the monasteries and universities were visited by special commissioners, who enforced subscription to the same proposition, and to the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. Attention is drawn to the perambulation of the country by duly constituted visitors, as it is the inauguration of a specially Tudor method of securing conformity, which we shall see copied more than once in the sequel. On the whole, the opposition in the present instance was small, but this is far from meaning that the oath and acknowledgment were readily taken. Proofs are continuous that during the seven months occupied by the visitation, a great deal of passive resistance was displayed. Men subscribed in fear, and the chief objectors—the London Carthusians and the Greenwich Friars Observant—were made conspicuous examples of what it meant to resist the King's will, for all resisters suffered, and some were put to death next year.

Just as the visitors were ending their work a new session of Parliament met at the close of the year 1534. The King and his abettors had been acting unconstitutionally, and it was determined to complete the edifice of the supremacy, and to make it unassailable. The last stone in the building was the compact Supremacy Act, which made Henry practically Pope in England by giving to him all those powers over the Church which he had been acquiring in the last few

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 251.

years. So he was to 'be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England.' He was to have 'full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities' as might lawfully be reformed, etc.[1] It is difficult to take in the precise measure of such language, and to see what it would all mean in practice, but one thing is clear enough, that the saving clause in the submission of the clergy has here been significantly omitted: there is no limitation of the King's power by 'the laws of Christ.' Henry meant to annex all the control which the Pope had exercised, and to use it as he wished. He was now, in a word, a dictator over the Church. This Act was at once followed by the Second Act of Succession,[2] which gave an *ex post facto* authority to the administration of the oath that had been going forward since April. The Treasons Act came next, and floated like a flag over the now solid and completed supremacy.[3] For the first time a man's secret thoughts were to be controlled by an Act of Parliament, for it was enjoined that if any man 'do maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or by writing, or by craft imagine' anything against the King, he is to be liable to the penalty of treason, which is to 'suffer such pains of death and other penalties as is limited and accustomed in cases of high treason.' The Supremacy Act had made high-sounding profession of the King's desire 'for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England,' and on the statute book the

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 243. 26 Henry VIII., c. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 244. 26 Henry VIII., c. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 247. 26 Henry VIII., c. 13.

Treasons Act is followed by the Suffragan Bishops Act,[1] which, by a curious fate, did little then (it gave Durham a suffragan at Berwick), but came to new life in Queen Victoria's reign, when suffragan bishops were appointed with titles therein prescribed. The Act prescribed such appointments as being 'for the more speedy administration of the sacraments and other good, wholesome, and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people.' If this enactment was, as we are inclined to suspect, the result of some pressure on the part of Cranmer, its sincerity is somewhat compromised by the annexation of all first-fruits and tenths which had been taken from Rome, not to the clergy, but to the King. The surrender of such an unjust piece of pillage was reserved for Queen Anne in later days.

It was under the Treasons Act that the Carthusians and other religious were put to death. The more conspicuous instances of its operation were Sir Thomas More, lately Lord Chancellor, and Bishop Fisher, who had been made a cardinal in prison, to the great indignation of the King. We know now that Fisher was in treasonable communication with the Emperor, but his negotiations did not then transpire, and the execution of these two great men will always stain the record of the time. A thrill of horror ran through Christendom, for they were of the highest position, of saintliest character, and of European reputation. The fierce anger of Rome had to burn itself out, for nuncios sent by Paul III. to the courts of Europe to call a crusade against Henry found the various powers preoccupied, and therefore unable to respond to the

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 253. 26 Henry VIII., c. 14.

appeal. At home a sullen silence fell upon the land. Men could remember no more terrible time, nor did history record a parallel. The reign of terror was reflected in nature: a wet summer was followed by nearly total failure of the harvest, and sickness abounded in every quarter of the land.

The Dispensations Act gave the King the right of visiting all exempt monasteries,[1] a right which had previously belonged to the Pope, and was granted by him to such representatives as he thought fit. Monastic exemptions were numerous, but the system of exemptions was indefensible, because these corporations were, by reason of their privilege, responsible neither to diocesan bishop nor to other authority in England. Few things contributed more to the security of the papal influence throughout the country. In any case, whether exempt or not exempt, all religious houses were bound by a hundred ties to the Pope, and virtually they formed a series of papal garrisons. There they stood, monasteries of enclosed orders like the Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, and Premonstratensians; friaries of professedly itinerating and mendicant religious like the Augustinians, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Franciscans; new orders of the last, like the Crutched, the Trinitarians, the Observant, and the Bonhomme friars; foreign bodies, like the Cluniac monks; the one essentially English order the Gilbertines; secular canons; canons regular; military orders like the knights of St John of Jerusalem; communities of nuns, whether Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, or Cluniac. The power of the Pope had now been abolished in England, yet all these houses remained. True, they had sworn to the succession,

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 226. 25 Henry VIII., c. 21.

and had taken the oath of supremacy, and the Treasons Act had been called into existence, but the King knew that he could not depend upon even a feigned allegiance. This fact alone would lead him and his advisers to contemplate further measures. But another reason than the Roman sympathy of the religious houses prompted him to consider their future. This was not monastic immorality or irregularity. The wholesale condemnation of monks and nuns as idle and vicious is one of those later beliefs which have been shaped in order to palliate a great crime. They were not incurably vicious, nor had the system necessarily outlived its occasion or usefulness.[1] A radical reformation of an institution which had survived a thousand years might easily have brought the monasteries up to date, and have fitted them for a new epoch of beneficent work. The real reason for the general visitation of the monasteries, which began in the summer of 1535, was greed. If we may trace the influence of Cromwell in all the gigantic revolution that had been going on, we see his hand nowhere so clearly as in the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the monasteries. It is difficult to say when the idea of suppressing them first occurred to Cromwell. But, at all events, in that bankrupt year, 1535, there floated before king and minister visions of the gold mine which the monasteries might prove to be. All calculations of the national wealth at a time when accurate statistics are not forthcoming are precarious. It has been estimated that the total value of monastic property in 1535 amounted to some fifty millions of pounds in modern reckoning, though this is a very different thing from saying that

[1] For the case against the monks in general, see G. G. Coulton, 'From St Francis to Dante,' and papers in *Contemporary Review*, 1906.

the King gained that amount by the ultimate confiscation. If he could realise a small proportion of such a sum total it would be great gain to him.

Let us recall the position of the houses in the land. It is said that there were of all kinds nearly six hundred, and that the religious amounted to over ten thousand, besides servants and dependents. They were distributed over the whole land; sometimes thickly, as in the dioceses of London, Norwich, York; sometimes thinly, as in Exeter, St David's, Chester; and in the border dioceses of Durham and Carlisle, very thinly. Some of them were poor and weak, and scarcely able to support members or fabrics. Some were wealthy, like Durham, with its income of some £16,000 a year in our money, its property in almost every county, and its eight dependent cells. The really impressive thing about them was neither their number nor their wealth, but rather the way they entered into the social and religious life of the people. Merely mentioning the constant prayer and praise which ascended from them, and the way in which not a few of the monks were the chosen friends and advisers of men and women living in the world, we may indicate some of the many points at which they affected the neighbourhood in which they were placed. The monasteries were large land-owning corporations, and it is thought that on the whole they discharged this function well, with considerable kindness to tenants and to dependents. In the case of the larger houses whole counties were practically owned by them. The monastery was the local refuge in many of the vicissitudes which touch life hardly. The poor, the indigent, the sick, the aged of the district, looked to the almoner or the hospitaller for help; and whatever knowledge of simples, whatever

surgical skill existed, was to be found in the infirmarer and his helpers. Corrodies, as they were called—pensions, as we should term them—formed an aid at home to the paralysed or otherwise incurable, who could not come to the abbey gate. All that was to be had in the way of schooling, both as regards teachers and appliances for learning, was not infrequently to be found only in a monastery through the whole country-side. If there has been a disposition to overrate the debt of medieval education to monastic schools, we must not shut our eyes to what was done in very many cases in the cause of learning. At all events, monastic libraries form an important feature in the contents of the houses, and it is greatly due to the care of generations of monkish librarians that manuscripts were preserved, even if they were not always widely used. These libraries, too, formed storehouses of historical learning, to which in well-known instances a Matthew Paris, or some later chronicler, was able to refer, and so prepare himself for his own contribution to the story of his country. That the arts—like music, painting, bell-founding, embroidery—were specially cultivated in various abbeys should also be remembered in trying to understand what England owed to the religious houses. Finally, they made it a sacred duty to show hospitality to the traveller, and whether a man were faring across the border, or king or princess were making progress through England, the monastery supplied both food and lodging. It cannot be doubted that all houses did not rise to the ideal, nor can it be doubted that some fell far below it, and that others were so gravely disordered that their continuance was undesirable; but it would be as unfair to condemn all because some needed reform, as to condemn, let us say, all business-houses in

a large city because some may be dishonestly or badly conducted.

Cromwell was commissioned under terms of the Dispensations Act to carry out a visitation of all religious houses. He chose various agents to help him, creatures of his own whose lives, it is generally admitted, were not unblemished. They carried out their work with extraordinary rapidity so as to be ready for the next session of Parliament, which was to meet early in the year 1536. Layton went to Oxford and Leigh to Cambridge, where they inaugurated a régime which can not have been all loss, turning out the study of the schoolmen, and laying the foundations of that wider and more liberal course which the revival of letters was teaching men to demand.[1] From the universities they and their colleagues made pilgrimage to all the monasteries through the length and breadth of the land. The whole purpose of the proceedings was to prepare a case against the houses, and the visitors' notes were sent up to Cromwell from time to time. On the basis of these incriminating documents a bill was prepared as soon as Parliament met. The preamble, in which is set forth the 'manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living . . . among the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns,' would justify, if it were true, the destruction not only of the smaller but of the larger monasteries. No one, however, who has gone into the

[1] In this visitation the readerships in Canon Law and degrees in Canon Law were abolished. York Convocation in July 1536 petitioned the King that 'the laws of the Church' be still read in the universities, and in view of the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' they asked for a repeal of all the legislation against the Pope.

whole matter carefully will to-day be inclined to admit that the words are just. At the same time, as there can be no smoke without fire, it is almost equally impossible to believe that the general indictment is untrue of every particular institution. However, upon this charge, whether true or untrue, was based a bill for the entire dissolution of the monasteries with income under £200 a year (nearer £2400 of our money). All the buildings and sites, the ornaments, jewels, chattels, and the incomes generally were given to the King. The religious were drafted into larger houses, or were pensioned off, and in many cases handsomely. The actual result of this spoliation, which no hand was stretched out to prevent, amounted to an annual sum approaching £40,000 in modern currency. A court of 'Augmentations of the King's Revenue' was founded to account for and manage money and property of the dissolved houses, and this court becomes a familiar institution under the Tudors until it is merged in the Exchequer.

The dissolution of the lesser monasteries was the chief Act of the great Parliament which had existed since 1529. In June 1536 a new Parliament was called, for startling events had taken place since its predecessor was dissolved in April. Anne Boleyn had been thrown aside like a broken toy, and with her execution on charges which may have been true, but could in no way merit such a death, that particular party of change with whom she was identified lost influence with the King. Large hopes were built upon this fact, but the new and carefully packed Parliament dissipated them by passing an Act which made it penal even to extol the authority of the Pope, and the King's marriage with Jane Seymour introduces

us to a connexion which was certainly in the interests of the New Learning. The Princess Mary, who had stood out so long and so inexorably against any countenance of Katharine's divorce, or diminution of her own royal position and precedence, was persuaded to make a renunciation of the Pope, and a recognition of the unlawful character of her mother's union. Her recent ill-health and long troubles were sufficient to account for such a collapse under pressure. A new Succession Act readjusted that point, and made the prospective issue of Jane Seymour the King's heir and successor. Next year the birth of Edward at last gave the King the heir male for whom he had vainly hoped through all the twenty-eight years of his chequered married life.

Singular good fortune had followed Henry after every daring act that shocked Christendom. The sea was his kind friend, for no foreign power was yet able to invade his dominions; and even if preparation for invasion had been thought of, the preoccupation of Charles and of Francis prevented any realisation of such an idea. No punishment, therefore, was meted out to him for his outrage on Christian decency, or for his plunder of the Church. At home, however, rumours of fresh changes that were likely to ensue produced a feeling of unrest in various parts, and more particularly in the north. Ill-will and resentment had been smouldering for years, due not only to the religious and political alterations of the time, but also to the operation of other factors altogether. Grievances were ventilated, especially in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, where the majority of the dissolved houses had been situated. At last the flame of rebellion burst out at

Louth in September 1536,[1] and all sorts and conditions were forced to join. It was rather an armed demonstration than a popular rising, and there was no clear idea as to the course to be taken. The rebels complained of the dissolution, of the new learning, of the abolition of holidays, and sent an appeal to the King. Henry's reply declared the county as being 'one of the most brute and beastly in the whole realm,' and when Suffolk appeared with levies the whole movement collapsed in Lincolnshire. But a fresh centre of disaffection had appeared. In Yorkshire a squire called Aske had heard of the Lincolnshire rising, and took the lead of a band of tenantry. It was long remembered in the Bishopric of Durham that Howdenshire, the bishop's manor in Yorkshire, had seen the first beginning of the rising. Beacons blazed over the hills, and the people rose, as they rose again in 1569 in the north, to demand the restoration of the old religion and of the dissolved houses. A motley crew marched out under the banner of the Five Wounds assumed for this Pilgrimage of Grace. Aske seized York, besieged Pontefract Castle, where Darcy, the King's representative, lay, and then concentrated with many north country gentlemen at Doncaster. Conferences were held; articles were sent to the King and were answered; grievances were enumerated; and things looked black enough. At last Aske was interviewed by the King, and promised to use his best endeavours to quell the rising. But his more impetuous fellows outwent him, so that the pardon that Henry had promised was doomed to be forfeited. Aske was ruthlessly hanged, and example was made of other ringleaders. In connexion with the Lincolnshire rising men were executed, and in the rising of the

[1] See the account in H. A. L. Fisher, p. 397, etc.

counties further north many were put to death. The Council of the North was erected, and the Palatine of Durham was made its first president.

It was said at the time that the clergy were largely responsible for the rising, and incited the people to clamour against the King's proceedings. The assertion appears to have been true of some important abbots who used their influence to foment the general agitation. This implication of some of the heads of the greater houses was seized upon by the King as a pretext for dissolving Jervaux, Bridlington, and some other monasteries. Beyond this action he could not at present legally go, but voluntary surrender might be promoted, and he might hope to get the larger institutions into his hands by judiciously putting pressure upon abbots and priors. A new visitation was ordered in 1538 in order to hurry the process. Impossible conditions of continuance were forced upon the inmates by the articles of Cromwell, and in this way 'voluntary' surrender went on apace. In 1539 an *ex post facto* Act was passed by Parliament to legalise the surrenders which had taken place since 1536, and to hand everything over to the King as in the former case. The same Parliament legalised the endowment of new sees from the monastic revenues, and made other provision for their good bestowment. It is a pity that the excellent professions of this Act were never fully carried out.

So the monastic system was rooted up, and by 1540 the gigantic work of destruction was complete. What was done with the enormous wealth which now became the property of the King? A large immediate revenue became available in the ready money, the plate and jewels, and the recurring rents of the monastic lands. All was brought under the control of the Court of

Augmentations, and a vast amount of business was thus placed in the hands of government officials. The Crown became a large landlord of far wider domains than had belonged to it since the Conquest. Some of these were sold at once, and others by degrees, for the process of alienating this huge accumulation of lands was pressed on. Estates were in many cases given to courtiers and to noblemen: the landed property of the Russells, the Seymours, and others may be traced to such gifts or grants. The business entailed was so vast that much land was frittered away irregularly, or even fraudulently invaded without title or sufficient right. Six new sees were endowed in accordance with the recent Act—Peterborough, Oxford, Chester, Bristol, Gloucester, and for a time Westminster—the great monastic church at each place being utilised for a cathedral. Monastic churches attached to ancient sees like Canterbury, St Paul's, and Durham were refounded for the same purpose, and are known as the cathedrals of the new foundation. A small proportion of the revenues went to military works, such as roads and harbour defence. Nothing was given to education, for the grammar schools of Edward VI. were a refounding of much older schools to which he gave a poorer endowment. What, one asks, was the general effect of the dissolution? At first there was a vast disorganisation of all the ministries which the monasteries had contributed to the wellbeing of their neighbours—charitable, spiritual, social, and educational. In the long run every channel of benefit, no doubt, was supplied by other institutions. The relief of the poor, the management of the lands, the education of the people were supplied by other agencies at last, but on the way to the better ordering of these things much time was

lost, and many bad experiments were made. Distress accompanied the change, for the pensions of the monks were not always well paid, and the central machinery for the management of lands and revenues and the distribution of pensions could not and did not work smoothly. We echo the sentiment expressed by Aske, who said, 'the abbey was one of the beauties of this realm to all men and strangers passing through the same,' yet the sight of gutted churches and roofless chapter-houses must have been a small drop of bitterness in the cup of Church-people, compared with the greed and illwill and selfish ambition that characterised the scramble for Church property among the *nouveaux riches* whom the new era produced.

CHAPTER VII

THE DOCTRINAL REFORMATION

IN the story told in the last two chapters, the treatment of the Church of England there recorded will strike the reader as an outburst of royal tyranny which made the Church the slave of the King. We look in vain for those signs of a spiritual movement which we instinctively feel ought to be exhibited in such a process as the Reformation. There is, however, another side to the course of events, and it is the design of the present chapter to show that there was coincidently a religious movement which manifested itself, sometimes uncertainly and timidly, but at others with boldness and confidence. It has been the misfortune of this great crisis that those who have chronicled its history have dwelt on the political side to the exclusion of the spiritual, or have reversed the process, making much of its spiritual character, and forgetting, or subordinating, the political aspect. Our sympathies are enlisted in this subject, as in few other parts of our national history, so that unconscious exaggeration, on one side or the other, is the almost inevitable result. Thus to-day some will see in these years merely a record of the way in which an imperious king fettered the Church, while others, thinking of the fact that this same period gave us an English Bible, will shut their eyes to the despotism, intrigue, and greed that marred the action of those

chiefly concerned in making over the gift to the nation. It is unhistorical to place either the political or the spiritual aspect of the Reformation in the background, and if no mention has been made in our narrative of the latter, it has been reserved for fuller measure, and in order to take the political events first in their proper connexion.

Let us very briefly recall the new elements of influence described on an earlier page. The Renaissance had a considerable effect in England, and there is ample proof that by degrees, means were taken to promote its spirit in the foundation of colleges and lectureships at the university, whilst in the life and work of men like Colet, and the very numerous disciples who came under him and others like him, we may readily discern the spread of the greater intelligence and the better taste which are real factors in the situation. Two convincing proofs of what the Renaissance was doing at the time that the Reformation Parliament began to sit can easily be indicated in the amount and character of the rapidly increasing literature of the time, and also in the references and allusions innumerable found in contemporary State papers and letters which survive in overwhelming abundance. If the universities were thrown out of gear during the critical years 1530-1540, such a fate was the inevitable accompaniment of a revolution, and even so they produced many great scholars who graduated in those very days. Lollardy survived to some extent, but was a very uncertain quantity, and was probably merged in the Lutheran movement which set in with such violence about 1520. No repression could stop this Lutheran invasion which marched through the land. A glance back at what has been said before will show what its influence was about 1530. The

significance of that particular stage in its history is that Tyndale was then giving it an English dress and despatching it through the country to speak more widely than Luther's Latin treatises had spoken. When Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor, entered into controversy with Tyndale, his action had a result which he did not contemplate, for he succeeded in giving the Lutheran Tyndale such an advertisement as no English writer of the period had received. In Queen Mary's reign a preacher called Edgworth described the ferment of his boyhood in these words: 'Whilst I was a young student in Divinity, Luther's heresies rose and were scattered here in this realm, which in less space than a man would think, had so sore infected the Christian folk, first the youth and then the elders where the children could set their fathers to school, that the King's majesty and all Christian clerks in the realm had much ado to extinguish them. This they could not so perfectly quench but that ever since when they might have any maintenance by man or woman of great power they burst forth afresh even like fire hidden under chaff.'[1] Such a quotation, which might easily be supported by others, will show how universal and how dominating the Lutheran influence was, and how it passed down from the universities to the man in the street, and how the very children were affected by it.

Now, people called this pervasive Lutheranism 'heresy,' because on many points it was opposed to the current orthodox churchmanship of the day, and it is still the fashion to call it heresy. Yet it is in point of fact in many respects a return to an older view.[2] Not a few of the great fathers of the early

[1] Quoted by Gasquet, 'Eve of the Reformation,' p. 212.
[2] Dixon, 'Church History,' i. 40.

Church would have found themselves marvellously at home in a good deal of the Lutheran theology. In saying this, however, it must not be supposed that all the Lutheran views which came into England can be fathered upon Luther, or that everything labelled Lutheran could stand the test of the Augsburg Confession—the great Lutheran manifesto submitted to the Emperor in 1530. Possibly a good deal of wild and incoherent talk[1] came under the general name of Lutheranism, just as in the eighteenth century Deism or even Protestantism covered widely different utterances. Yet it is probable that all so-called Lutheranism included three or four characteristic doctrines. There was its vehement anti-papalism which renewed the denunciations of Wycliffe, and received form and expression as Luther progressed in his duel with the Papacy. There was its characteristic love for the text of the Bible and for the spread of the Scriptures in the vernacular which Luther made possible in Germany, and Tyndale strove to make possible in England. There was the sacramental teaching opposed to the current doctrine of the schoolmen, but still, with all its novelty and all its startling propositions, full and reverent, and so far opposed to the views of the Swiss, which were beginning to attract notice, that Luther exclaimed, 'You have a different spirit to ours.' There was, of course, for that was the point developed first in time, the ruthless criticism of indulgences and of all the practical ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, such as pilgrimages, relics, saint-worship, and so forth.

Such were the matters of debate that the Lutheran movement introduced into England by the various

[1] See below, p. 125, and above, p. 63.

agencies named. They were wafted like thistle-down all over the country. Now the contention of the present chapter is that these particular elements received authoritative encouragement in various monuments of the very period which so decisively destroyed the papal power, and reduced the position of the clergy in England. These matters were not left for little knots of students to talk over, like the 'Germans' at Cambridge; or for ardent 'Gospellers' like Bilney, to propagate in open-air teaching in East Anglia or elsewhere. Those who now took notice of these views, who used them, and endorsed them, were not the rank and file of the clergy who were largely opposed to them, but others in high places. At the outset, when the Legate disappointed the King by his procrastination, Henry knew well the strength of the anti-papal and anti-clerical feeling on which he might rely. Obviously he called the Reformation Parliament with the fullest confidence in the active force of this increasing feeling. But the thing to notice about this feeling is that it was of recent appearance. It had mostly grown up in his own reign. This is a point made by the writer of a tract, written in 1532, which speaks of 'the division between the spiritualty and temporalty.' Sir Thomas More, in noticing the treatise, is very emphatic as to the recent origin of this estrangement, and speaks of it as 'within these four or five years, for before I heard little talk of such things.' And about the same time the Petition of the Commons speaks of all this kind of talk as 'by a few years past.' Is it not to some extent the result of what Luther had said about the position of the individual, and the priesthood of believers, which would readily lend itself to the derogation of the ordinary ministry? A mere

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

glance at the strength of Luther's language as to the universality of the priesthood of believers, combined with our certain knowledge that his words were eagerly read in England, will go far to prove that Lutheranism is largely responsible for the anti-papalism and the anti-clericalism which Henry used to such purpose in the furtherance of his own ends. And the result remained, for the clergy never regained the ascendency they had lost.

Cromwell, no less than the King, made use of the growing force of Lutheran sentiment for his own purpose. We cannot, to-day, echo the undiscriminating eulogy of John Foxe and speak effusively of 'that good Cromwell.' Yet, looking at the one great boon which he bestowed upon England in the midst of the turmoil that he produced, we can understand the hasty praise meted out. The vast amount of the Cromwell correspondence and of other documents now accessible, and the careful study bestowed upon them by recent historians, enable us to understand more fully than our ancestors could what this mysterious man did, and what his real character seems to have been, even if room is still left for fuller information on certain points in connexion with him. The probable view is that Cromwell, a man of absolutely no principle, was guided by the interest of the game that he played, and by the thought of his own benefit. To him the undeniable increase of Lutheranism in England was a force to be used in order to advance himself; and as he clearly saw that the future was under its control, he threw himself upon the advancing tide and let it carry him on. He had the worst antecedents, and began his career without much moral or religious conviction; he continued

it with the utmost servility to his master, and showed himself to be entirely unscrupulous; and eventually deserved his disgrace if not his execution. But it is not impossible that he was one of those strangely mixed characters who are constitutionally inclined to separate morality from religion; to exhibit on occasion a genuine zeal in behalf of religion; and to indulge a very edifying emotion which they are convinced is unadulterated, and the next moment to be implicated in some deed or course or policy which strikes beholders with dismay, and holds the perpetrator up to the execration of posterity. It is to him, in all probability, that we may ascribe the very pious and improving allusions to the service of God and the welfare of true religion which we discover in some of the preambles of the Reformation Acts of Parliament. They are particularly Tudor, and may not improbably be inserted to please the rapidly advancing reform party in the country at large. At all events, we shall see that Cromwell's share in the English Bible, and in the policy of the Injunctions, is not small.

There were others, too, in positions of importance who helped forward the Lutheran influence. The Imperial Ambassador said of the Boleyns during their brief triumph that they were more Lutheran than Luther himself.[1] Cranmer had leanings to Lutheranism from his Cambridge days, he had married a German wife, and from about 1532 was in close correspondence with German divines. In and after 1536 there were conferences with them, and their influence can be traced in various ways. Cranmer, and possibly Cromwell, prevailed upon the King to

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' v. 148.

appoint various bishops of more or less definite Lutheran sympathy. Barlow, Edward Foxe, Goodrick, Hilsey, Latimer, Shaxton, were all of this class; and we must be prepared to give due weight to the views which they represented in the Episcopal Councils. One of the Lincolnshire rebel articles had reference to such men: 'There be divers bishops of England of your Grace's late promotion that have subverted the faith of Christ as we think: which is the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc.'

Such were the personal channels through which the views of Luther passed. We may now go on to notice in detail some of the main effects produced. First and foremost the Bible was translated and published. If the Lutherans made the Scriptures the final court of appeal on all matters of doctrine, and pressed forward the circulation of the Bible in Germany, Tyndale did his utmost to promote the reading and spread of the Scriptures in English, though vigorous attempts were made to thwart his efforts. Latimer, rapidly rising into favour with the King in 1530, strove in a famous document to secure from Henry the publication of the Bible which the King had already promised.[1] Cranmer, as it would be natural to suppose, had at heart the fulfilment of this promise, and in the anxious year 1534, when the old constitution of the Church was being pulled up, he persuaded Convocation to petition the King for its performance, asking that fit persons be appointed by him to translate Holy Scripture into the vulgar English tongue, and to dispense and deliver it to the people according to their learning.[2] The effect of this petition of the clergy is not a little interesting.

[1] Dixon, i. 43. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 240.

Cromwell, who must have been in correspondence with Cranmer, now urged on Coverdale to complete a translation of the whole Bible upon which he was engaged. Its chief basis was the venerable and standard Latin Vulgate. In 1537 Coverdale's Bible was licensed by the King. Meanwhile a London clergyman called Rogers had become possessed of Tyndale's unfinished translation of the whole Bible. This version had been made by Tyndale from the original languages, and the New Testament part had been condemned and even burnt, as we have seen. Rogers now completed Tyndale's work by utilising Coverdale for the unfinished portions, and sent the result to Cranmer, who was overjoyed with what he saw, and recommended Rogers' Bible (or as it was called by the writer's assumed name, Matthew's Bible). It was this scholarly Bible, and not Coverdale's, which after some further changes was published in 1538, and in 1540 in a second edition with a Preface by Cranmer. Such is the parentage of the 'Great Bible,' of which the patrons were the King, Cromwell, and not least Cranmer; but it will be observed that the main part of the work was still Tyndale's, and after all subsequent revision our New Testament largely, and our Old Testament to some extent, retain the very wording of William Tyndale. A little further down we shall see what was done to promote its study, but it is worth while recording here the fact that as early as 1537 it was said by a speaker in Convocation: 'The lay people know the Scriptures better than many of us. The Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy that many things may be better understood now without glosses than by all the commentaries of the doctors.'[1]

[1] Quoted in Dixon, i. 523.

It is idle to say that the Old Learning were not averse from a properly translated Bible. Even if some of them were ready to have a duly authorised version, they were few in number, and had no idea of setting it up in churches or encouraging people to study it. When it came to the test in 1530, at a conference of the Old and the New, Latimer told the King: 'The most part had overcome the better.'

So, after hesitation and doubt, the English Bible was given to the people. Before it was licensed another German precedent was followed in the Ten Articles of 1536, the first confession of faith in English and the ancestor of our own Thirty-nine Articles. It has been stated that the German Reformers compiled the Confession of Augsburg in 1530. The idea, and to some extent the matter of that series was copied in the 'Articles to establish Christian quietness,' which are generally known as The Ten. In the Convocation of 1536 the clergy had produced a long series of *gravamina* protesting against errors of the day, and while some of them were '*mala dogmata*' or ill-considered utterances of fanatics, not a few of them can readily be distinguished as based upon well-known Lutheran doctrines. The protest had little effect, but it suggested to Cromwell the experiment of drawing up articles to 'stablish Christian quietness.' Henry wrote them; Cranmer revised them; and Convocation accepted them. As their authority was temporary, it will be unnecessary to do more than say that the articles are a compromise, and indicate the theological unsettlement of the times. We trace the old in three sacraments; also in the retention of images, invocation of saints, and ceremonies, though their use is limited and explained as

without power to remit sins. We see the new in the standard authority ascribed to the Bible and Three Creeds, the repudiation of Indulgences, the manner of Justification, and the assertion of a Real Presence as opposed to Transubstantiation. A more distinctly Lutheran set of articles produced after some conference with Lutheran divines in 1538 only calls for notice in so far that this series of Thirteen had a considerable influence upon the development of the English articles somewhat later.

A revised issue of the Ten Articles, with important additions and rearrangement, appeared in the year that followed their publication. It is known as the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' or simply as 'The Bishops' Book.' This augmented revision was undertaken by a mixed committee of bishops and divines in 1537. Its inception very probably represents the King's alarm at a critical moment owing to the breach with Catholic Christendom which the reduced number of Three Sacraments had virtually established. The book was hammered out in the hot debates of five weary months, during which the Old and the New Learning met at Lambeth. The preface asserts that it represents their final unanimity. The circumstances of its composition have left their trace on its tone, for compromise is everywhere evident. The chief gain to the Old Learning was the restored number of Seven Sacraments. For the rest, it shows much the same general spirit as the Ten Articles which it incorporates. The completed work was never accepted by Convocation, but the King endorsed it without reading it, and ordered it to be read by the clergy in part every Sunday for three years, and to be regarded as a standard in preaching.

This last royal order to the clergy brings us to the mention of two important documents which were issued on behalf of the King, and were drawn up by Cromwell at the height of his power, the first after the Ten Articles, and the second after the Bishops' Book. Both of them represent another specially Tudor usage which we shall see imitated by Edward and by Elizabeth. The Injunctions of 1536[1] were published in every deanery to the assembled clergy. They direct them to preach down the Pope and preach up the King; to explain the Ten Articles; to forbear superstitious ceremonies; to teach the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments; to provide for the due administration of the Sacraments; to read the Scriptures. The second set of Injunctions appeared in 1538 under the same authority, and were issued to the various archdeacons by Cranmer, acting on Cromwell's order, at the moment that the greater monasteries were falling.[2] They confirm those of 1536, but they go beyond them in at least two important particulars: (1) They direct the clergy to set up in churches 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English,' where the parishioners may read it. They further direct that they 'discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved.' (2) Images and candles, with certain specified exceptions, are to be taken away; and any erroneous teaching previously given by the clergy about them, or about

[1] Text in Gee and Hardy, p. 269.

[2] See Gee and Hardy, p. 275.

pilgrimages and relics, is to be recanted. This order followed the notable desecration of the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury, of St Cuthbert at Durham, of our Lady of Walsingham (where the votive offerings were of fabulous value), and the locally impressive destruction of innumerable other shrines all over the country. The anger of Rome at what was considered an appalling act of blasphemy led the Pope to send Pole (destined to be Primate under Mary) to the Emperor to urge him to undertake a sacred war with Francis against Henry. It was this danger which made Cromwell anxious to cement an alliance with the German Princes, so that Henry might not be isolated. A batch of executions gave expression to the fears that Henry entertained of foreign invasion, and the possible setting up of some descendant of Edward IV. in the place of Henry dethroned.

At this point we reach a temporary pause in the doctrinal changes of the period. No attempt had been made so far to introduce change into the services of the Church. They continued without alteration for the present. The old manuscript service-books were gradually replaced by printed copies, but these were faithful reproductions of the time-honoured offices, and we have as yet no clue to any talk of liturgical revision. It has been thought that one of the concluding injunctions of 1538 presaged a commencement in this direction,[1] but Cromwell's preoccupation with other matters prevented him from giving further attention to it, and then came his fall. Looking back over the years thus hastily surveyed, one or two conclusions seem to be established. The political reformation presupposed a religious movement. This was often

[1] Dixon, ii. 85.

impulsive, and not seldom fanatical, but it was there with all its imperfections. Henry employed it to float his own schemes. Cranmer had the greatest sympathy with it, and strove to guide it. Cromwell, with mixed motives, saw that it was the coming force, and utilised it for his own ends, though perhaps with rather better principle than some are ready to allow. These were the chief agents at work in developing the spread of Lutheranism in England. We see the effect of their work in the Articles, the Injunctions, the Bishops' Book, and above all in the English Bible. There is much of Lutheranism in the first three formularies, and the very idea of a vernacular Bible accessible to all was stimulated by Luther's example. What influence these measures had in deepening and directing the motion in progress it seems impossible to estimate. The clergy generally had no sympathy with the policy which produced them. They were reluctant, and even hostile. They had nothing to do with its promotion. Those who were sympathetic were persons of the middle class, chiefly in London, who felt the impulse of Lutheranism, who could read, and made use of their ability to do so. The lower classes were, so far, largely untouched, and the Pilgrimage of Grace might lead us to believe that they were generally opposed to alteration.

CHAPTER VIII

A REACTION SETS IN

BY the end of 1538 much had been done to change and modify the doctrine of the Church of England. A skilful attempt had been made to Lutheranise it. We have only to read through the Ten Articles, and the Institution of a Christian man, and to reflect on the possibilities opened up by the English Bible, in order to see how far we have travelled from the spirit of that earlier time which preceded the changes. This does not mean that the people gladly accepted the new *régime*, for we have proof that a majority objected to it, and reluctantly followed the teaching that was now being given ; but we have equal proof that a large minority, which included some very influential men, were in favour of it. To outsiders the English Reformation, so far, meant the repudiation of the Pope, the submission of the clergy, the destruction of the monasteries, and a general iconoclasm. This was the general report as it was carried out of England to Catholics on the Continent.[1]

The outlook was black enough as 1539 took the place of 1538, for Charles and Francis were now firm friends, and Pole's mission to stir them up to a crusade against Henry was thought to be successful. Every-

[1] *Cf.* Dixon, ii. 161.

where rumours abounded that an invasion of England would take place in the summer. Musters were taken of those able to bear arms, and preparation went on apace in the English counties. The menacing aspect of affairs led Cromwell to plan a new marriage for Henry, who was now a widower. The plan was that he should marry Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves, one of those Protestant princes of Germany whom the Reformation had moved to break from their allegiance to the Emperor. In this way Cromwell hoped to find for England an alliance worth having if invasion should come. It was also his hope that the treaty to be concluded would bind England more closely to the Lutheran Churches, and so develop the entrance of Lutheran influence into the Church.

Until this point was reached there had been no real check to the progress of doctrinal change. If, as it progressed, modification and compromise were visible on the formularies published, this was merely the result of the collision between the old and the new. Cromwell, and Cranmer too, hoped for a more thorough-going Lutheranism in the future. A reaction, however, now set in, and instead of more Lutheranism we get less, and, in the process of reaction, what had been secured so far was more than once within an ace of being overthrown. Henry, who had abetted doctrinal change if he had not inaugurated it, and Cromwell, who was in favour of thorough-going Lutheranism, and Cranmer, whose Lutheranism was a matter of conviction, were still in the positions that they had occupied. What, then, produced the sudden alteration of policy which now undoubtedly began? Who suggested it? Reign of terror as it

had been, not a few had spoken their minds to the King, and had remonstrated with him concerning the course of affairs. A party was forming at court whose whole energy was directed towards staying the advance of Cromwell's Church policy. The chief members of this little knot of men were Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Norfolk, the greatest soldier in England, whose father had been victor at Flodden, and perhaps Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. All these statesmen had fully acquiesced in the repudiation of the Papacy, and had previously taken the King's side in the divorce. On the whole, they had allowed the changes which had taken place during the Reformation Parliament, for, to their thinking, these involved no real surrender of Catholic doctrine. What had taken place in and since 1536 was of a different order, and (as they all believed and many with them) the Vicegerent Crom well was rapidly pulling up and destroying the Catholic Faith in England. Thus we trace the beginning of an anti-Cromwell party, who were determined to leave no stone unturned in order to influence the King against his minister. If their zeal was warmed by the fact that they had reasons for some personal bitterness against Cromwell, this is merely to say that they were human, and that motives which sway us all were a stimulus to their convictions.

Their chance came in the Parliament of 1539. Both sides knew well that they must nerve themselves for a real trial of strength, and that those who were worsted would probably never regain their lost opportunity. Cromwell, adroit in all matters that had to do with the management of Parliament, did his best to control the elections, and to get the return of those likely to take his side. When the session began, re-

ligious unity was at once taken in hand by a committee who met according to the King's wish to consider some basis of uniformity. Probably Cromwell thought to control this, as he had controlled the formation of the 'Institution of a Christian Man.' Clever manœuvring soon took the matter out of his hands when the Duke of Norfolk began in the Lords a debate upon Six Articles which he and his friends had framed. He asked the House to discuss these, and to draw up an Act of Parliament enforcing their conclusions with penalties. In the Lords, then, the debate swayed to and fro, and both sides brought up every man to speak who was capable of delivering an opinion upon these matters. The Six Articles were shrewdly chosen, and are seen at once to embrace the most critical matters of belief and practice which the New Learning desired to get rid of. The questions argued were the following: whether after consecration the substance of bread and wine remain or no; whether communion in both kinds is necessary; whether the celibacy of the clergy is essential or no; whether vows of chastity are binding; whether private masses are scriptural and advisable; whether auricular confession is necessary or no. It will be seen that the six points had not been settled in the formularies which had so far appeared, for the Ten Articles had spoken of a Real Presence with studied ambiguity, and the rest of the series had not been definitely treated. The disputants continued the discussion for three whole days, and there is no saying what the issue might have been had not the King himself come down and joined in. His one desire was to secure unanimity of decision, and whatever his personal sympathies had so far been on doctrinal matters,

he now took his stand unwaveringly on the side of Norfolk and Gardiner. One by one the school of Cranmer gave way under the spell of the King's presence, and, as Cranmer said,[1] in later days, the decision would not have gone as it did, save for the weight of the King's own personal influence. It is possible that the singular unanimity which resulted was also partly due to the peers' desire to vote against Cromwell. The result was the concordant and emphatic affirmation of all the Six Articles. One of the most curious of all the Reformation statutes was then framed to embody the various points with a sort of historical account of the proceedings. It states in the preamble that the King intends 'the conservation of the . . . Church and congregation in true, sincere, and uniform doctrine of Christ's religion,' and knowing well the evils of diverse opinions has called Parliament and also Convocation to consider these articles.[2] Convocation debated them, with, of course, the same result, for, save under pressure, Convocation had so far stood for the Old.

This Act soon got the name of 'The Whip with six strings,' for to each article a dread penalty was attached. To deny Transubstantiation was to be punished by burning and confiscation of property. The death of a felon was attached to a second denial of any of the other articles. It was directed that commissions should be issued from time to time in every county to inquire into the working of the Act; that all local authorities assist in its execution; that heretical books should be destroyed; that the Act be read once a quarter in every church. The minute detail and the terrible penalties should be noticed. The statute marks the triumph of

[1] *Cf.* H. A. L. Fisher, p. 435*n*. [2] Gee and Hardy, p. 303.

the reactionary party, a triumph which was sometimes obscured but never entirely lost whilst Henry remained king. Two of the New Learning bishops left the Bench, and vacancies were now filled up by men of the old school. In this way Bonner began his episcopate as Bishop of London, and the reforming bishops felt that they were in a minority. Cromwell kept a wise silence, and Cranmer learned to wait for more hopeful days. The Act might at any time have been turned upon the Archbishop and upon various other important men of Lutheran sympathies. That this was not done is due to the determined friendship of Henry, who shielded Cranmer in various attacks, and kept him from many dangers.

The reaction did not cease with this great victory. The triumphant party of Gardiner were further anxious to secure the downfall of Cromwell, and their machinations for the end they had in view were constantly maintained. But it was some time before they were successful. All through 1539 Cromwell was concerned with the German marriage which was to provide Henry with friends in case of war against Charles and Francis. The bride at last appeared in December when the policy of reaction was in full swing. She came; the King saw her; he conceived an intense repugnance for her. It was only his supreme sense of duty towards the State which led him to go through the wedding ceremony. Almost at the same moment the inevitable estrangement between Charles and Francis began, and Henry's dislike was quickened into an eager desire to be rid of his new wife. As the political clouds rolled away he readily persuaded Anne to accept a handsome income and to leave him free. But he never forgot or forgave Cromwell, who had forced his hand in all that preceded this

event. In the spring of 1540 it was noticed that Cromwell was being superseded in various ways. Yet there was delay, and before the fall came Cromwell was made Earl of Essex. However, remorseless foes plied the King and pressed their charge against the favourite, and at last Cromwell collapsed with greater suddenness than had Wolsey ten years before. All manner of charges were brought up against the disgraced man—words and acts were magnified to the utmost, and a bill of attainder was introduced. As he had brought others to their death, so now he came to his on Tower Hill in July. Cromwell was the Jehu of the Reformation—a man with little principle, and of wild roving antecedents. He was cruel and vindictive. Yet by a strange irony he was the instrument of much benefit to the Church. To him almost more than to anyone we owe the Bible in English. To him, through the Injunctions, was due in those days a great deal that was done for the better instruction of Church people in matters of faith and godliness. As was said at his trial, his indirect influence was considerable in that he 'secretly set forth and dispersed into all shires a great number of false erroneous books.' The Old Learning clinched the reaction by a little stratagem which eventually recoiled upon themselves. The Duke of Norfolk had a niece called Katharine Howard. Her personal charm was considerable, her family connexion entirely with those who sympathised with the old orthodoxy. Norfolk and Gardiner designed her to be bride for the now unmarried King. At the Bishop of Winchester's house in Southwark, meetings and sumptuous entertainments were arranged by Gardiner, who was now fast gaining a hold upon Henry, though he never succeeded in stepping into the place left vacant by Cromwell. Within a month of

Cromwell's death, Katharine became the King's wife, and a lurid illumination preceded the event in the burning of certain heretics in London, a spectacle which clearly demonstrated that the rapid progress of the new views would now be stopped. The most notable of these poor creatures was Dr Barnes, one of the early Cambridge Lutherans, a preacher of repute and wide influence, whose only fault was that he had outrun the modified Lutheranism of the Ten Articles and the Institution, which indeed had never yet been repudiated. But Queen Katharine was an uncrowned queen, for scandal soon raised itself, and the story of a wild and criminal past was raked up against her. Before 1541 ended, the Privy Council were in possession of the facts, and of a sequel to them which justified the utmost severity. In February 1542 she suffered the fate of Anne Boleyn in the Tower of London. This tragedy put Norfolk out of favour, and somewhat relaxed the ascendency of the Old Learning.

But to revert, for a moment, to what followed the death of Cromwell. Despite the rally of the party of Norfolk and Gardiner, the Six Articles Act was not pressed to the extent of its ferocious possibilities. A display had been made at first, but the King in 1540 gave orders that 'no further persecution should take place for religion, and that those in prison should be set at liberty on finding security for their appearance when summoned.[1] In this way it is doubtful whether its directions were better than a dead letter after a year from its enactment had passed. If a recrudescence of severity was manifested from time to time, this practically ended in 1544, when an Act was passed to moderate the

[1] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' 16, 271.

statute by prescribing that all accusations should be made on the oaths of twelve men or more, instead of on the evidence of two witnesses. Nor did the reaction succeed in obliterating the vestiges of Cromwell's doctrinal reformation. Inoperative, no doubt, Articles, Institution, and Injunctions remained, where priest and people had no love for them; but they were all still in force, and no man could let or stay those who observed them yet did not, with Barnes and others, outrun them.[1] Indeed, there was a tendency to endorse the policy of the Injunctions. A proclamation was issued in 1541 to direct every Church as yet unsupplied to get a copy of the 'Great Bible,' and it was also ordered that certain saints' days should be abrogated, and 'childish superstitions' be abolished.[2] This was supplemented by a further removal of the relics and shrines which had not already been put away in the proceedings of 1538.

From this time much of the interest of the reign becomes political, though religious questions had their inevitable connexion with matters of home and foreign policy, and the last five years of Henry's reign become the seed plot of certain great issues that were to occupy attention in the next generation. It was a singular dispensation which had left Henry free from the burden of a continental war between 1529 and 1542. But those years of distracted peace had not been idle, and at their close England was better prepared for war than ever before. The military glory of an earlier period of the reign was

[1] Instances will be found in Foxe, 'Acts and Monuments,' vol. v. *passim*.

[2] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.,' 1540-1, Nos. 978, 1022, 1027, 1262.

now to be revived with some notable consequences. Scotland was the traditional ally of France and foe of England. It was natural for her to manifest sympathy with her ancient friend when the rupture between Francis and Charles took place. Moreover, a growing alienation had set in between Henry and James when Henry began to revive his shadowy claims upon Scotland, and to give his nephew the king advice which the latter resented. The famous border disaster of Halidon Ridge (1542), long remembered in the north, cried for vengeance, but at the battle of Solway Moss the balance was redressed, and a second Flodden wrought ruin to Scotland. Solway Moss broke the heart of James V. His French wife, Mary of Guise, gave birth to a daughter, who was left Queen of the Scots within a week of her birth. When was the future of a baby girl so eagerly discussed as that of the little Scottish infant? Two matches were at once proposed for her, the one with Edward, Prince of Wales, the other with Francis, dauphin of France. On her distant marriage the diplomacy of the day centred. If Mary married Edward the next King of England would be King of Scotland, and the hopes of Henry VII. would at last be realised. If Mary married Francis the next French King would be also King of Scotland, and the expansion of England would then be impossible. And so, apart from any question of religion, the baby's future was the great question of the moment. English diplomacy prevailed at first, but the Scots under French influence receded from their compact.

It was, then, to prevent the marriage of Mary and Francis that Henry entered upon his last war in

alliance with the Emperor—a war with Scotland and a war with France. On the Continent Charles withdrew from his part in the war and left Henry to struggle on alone with France. In the Treaty of Crespy, September 1544, Charles made peace with France. Then followed, what had so often been feared but had never taken place in all the long story, a French invasion of England. It caused some havoc and much alarm on the southern coast, but eventually came to no considerable result. In Scotland alternate success and failure attended the English arms, the one marked by the destruction of Edinburgh and the burning of Holyrood Palace, whilst ruin and misery radiated for a distance of seven miles from the Scottish capital; the other by the graves of the English who fell at Ancrum Moor. The assassination of the Scottish Cardinal Beaton, not perhaps without Henry's assistance, was a heavy blow to the French party in Scotland, though it brought England and Scotland no nearer.

Two events of real importance resulted from these last wars of the reign. On the one side the way was cleared for the development of the Reformation in Scotland. Here a genuine popular movement in the direction of spiritual reform had set in, but repression stifled the efforts of its protomartyrs, men like Patrick Hamilton (1528), and George Wishart (1546), so long as James and Cardinal Beaton lived. With their removal the work went on apace, and the greater achievement of John Knox, the real leader of the Scottish Reformation, was made possible. More widely influential was the Council of Trent, with its reform policy for so much of the Church as still remained in communion with Rome. A General

Council had long been talked of, but events had conspired to make it impossible. The course of the Continental war now opened a way to it. The alliance between Charles and Henry had been bitterly unpalatable to the Pope. It was, indeed, a curious contrivance of Time the Avenger. To the Pope Henry was practically excommunicate—a rebel and worse; whereas Charles, despite his subordination of religion to politics, was the eldest son of the Papacy. A combination between renegade and orthodox was this union of the two sovereigns. When the Peace of Crespy brought Charles and Francis together once more in 1544, no time was lost by Paul III. in issuing the bull which convened the Great Council. It was called for the spring of 1545, and its express object was to reform the Church, and to draw up an authoritative exposition of the faith.

Through these warlike years the advance of reformed doctrine was checked, and to a certain extent retreated. Yet the King, who controlled the pace in either direction, never really went back on the all-important concession as to the Bible. A vigorous attempt was made in 1542 to modify the settlement. In that year Convocation was discussing, at the instance of Cranmer, a revised version of the Scriptures, when Gardiner tried to capture the proposal for alteration in a 'Catholic' sense. The King's personal interference, however, frustrated Gardiner's design, and left the 'Great Bible' where it was. The fact is that Henry stood to the general position which he had taken up in regard to the public use of the Bible, and on more than one occasion, vindicated that use as against abuse. In 1543 an Act of Parliament spoke of the irreverent handling of the Scriptures 'by words,

sermons, disputations, and arguments,' and restricted its use to 'noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, and ladies,' denying it to 'women, artificers, 'prentices, serving-men, husbandmen, yeomen or labourers.' But the Act gave the King express power to alter it at his will, and this provision seems to indicate that the enactment was intended to be only a temporary restriction in the interests of reverence. In any case its principle is that of the Convocation petition of 1534, which desired to restrict the book according to the learning of the people.[1] There are several indications of Henry's disappointment concerning this 'sinister understanding of Scripture.'

The Act of 1543 followed the appearance of a work long expected—the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man.'[2] Just before his fall Cromwell had convened a joint committee of bishops and divines. The reaction had already begun, and it can scarcely be doubtful that the King was persuaded to direct the formation of this committee in order to produce a document more palatable to the reactionary party than the 'Institution of a Christian Man.'[2] The procedure was, by a series of questions to which the members furnished answers, as had been done in the formation of the previous book. Even with the loss of such men as Latimer and Shaxton, and the more uniform complexion of the new committee, much hesitation and delay had occurred. Once more the King interfered, and wrote his own comments upon what had been achieved. His criticism accelerated the final shaping of the book,

[1] Dixon, 2, 318, 385.

[2] These documents are printed in 'Formularies of Faith of the reign of Henry VIII.'

and it was then submitted to Convocation and debated for eight days. We have some knowledge of the various stages through which the work passed to its resultant form in 1543, and are therefore able to see the searchings of heart which preceded the completed draft, and the variety of opinion which at length reached unanimity on such points as the sacraments, and the authority of bishops, etc. The book is a revision, a very complete revision of the 'Institution'; and, as that had rearranged the Ten Articles, so this rearranged its own predecessor with large augmentation and remarkable changes. It was divided into four sections dealing with the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and other passages from the Bible. When we compare it with the 'Institution' we find just that change of tone which we should expect The Seven Sacraments are restored; a long declaration on Transubstantiation is inserted; stress is laid upon the priestly aspect of the Christian Ministry. Under the last-mentioned point reference to preaching as 'the chief and principal office whereunto priests or bishops be called,' is deliberately omitted. In fact, Lutheran views are reprobated, and a sober, moderate restatement of the medieval view is affirmed. The exposition of the commandments throws an incidental light upon various customs of the time, as, for instance, divination, palmistry, charms, crystal-gazing, witchcraft; but these the 'Institution' had in like manner denounced; the 'Necessary Doctrine' significantly omits what the earlier document had said in depreciation of images.

A passing glance may here be taken at a danger to religion which hovers over the later years of Henry's reign. In Germany Lutheranism outran its more

sober commencement, and the wild fanatical sport which was thrown out from it, menaced not only Germany but more distant countries. This remarkable movement, known by the general and very inadequate name of Anabaptism (because its followers baptised again those who joined them), was a medley of various distempered beliefs. Seeds of it were first imported into England about 1525, and these were largely supplemented ten years later. The danger of the whole development had been clearly realised in the interval, and from mention made of the Anabaptists from time to time, it is seen that they were clearly distinguished from Lutherans. A savage example of them was made, and a proclamation issued against their views. The *gravamina* in the Convocation of 1536 clearly allude to the ill-balanced talk of the sect. Two years later, a commission was issued to some of the bishops for the repression of the Anabaptists, who, like the Fifth-Monarchy men one hundred and twenty years later, were taking advantage of a revolutionary epoch to propagate their tenets. Under this, some poor wretches were put to death by burning, even Cranmer consenting to their death. Anabaptist literature was disseminated, and proclamation against it was made in 1539; and again in 1543 a heavy fine was imposed upon any one in whose possession Anabaptist books were found. We shall have cause to see that the doctrines which they disseminated sprang up in later days.

We must now return to what followed the 'Necessary Doctrine.' The book itself has a transitory interest, and was soon forgotten, but the principle of liturgical revision, which was now publicly mooted for the first time, bore fruit, which has endured. In the years of reaction Cranmer, whom no malevolence of the party

of Gardiner could overthrow, occupied much laborious leisure in liturgical research. We know now, as men did not once know, how careful and extensive were the measures which he took in order to fit himself for the great task which he had at heart. He experimented long over the idea of English prayers, to which he was now steadily moving. It was in 1542 that he first proposed to Convocation to correct and amend the old breviaries, missals, and other service books (but with no thought yet of translating them), and that the Lord's Prayer, Apostle's Creed, and Ten Commandments should be said in English. Next year he took the subject up again in the notable Convocation of 1543, and proposed a much more drastic reformation of the service books, casting out 'all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles and responses.' The lower house, however, refused to take up the matter, which probably collapsed entirely. The harvest in that year was almost ruined by the weather, and political affairs were gloomy. The King ordered a revival of the obsolete custom of open-air processions with appropriate prayers. The idea was a failure, and it was suggested that ignorance of the Latin prayers was the cause. Upon this, Cranmer was ordered to prepare a Procession in English, which was first used in 1544 when the King was about to embark on his French expedition. Taking as his basis the old Latin procession or litany, Cranmer produced the first draft of our present stately Litany, which was reissued in the following year and incorporated in the Primer. In 1545 the King ordered this revised and authoritative Primer to take the place of the unauthorised manuals which had been published earlier in the reign. Primers, of course, were not for public worship, but for private

use. The idea is medieval, and various Pre-Reformation primers are known. The changes of the sixteenth century naturally affected them. New and revised primers, as we have seen, were produced, and the conservatism of Church people found much fault with them. The King's Primer, coming out with his authority stamped upon it, was intended to be 'a determinate form of prayer that men might both know what they prayed, and also in what words, and neither offer to God things standing against true religion, nor yet words far out of their intelligence and understanding.' The book contained the Hours, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Dirge, and Commendations, the Psalms and Devotions of the Passion, and some private prayers. But this was all that was done under Henry VIII. in the way of liturgical reformation. It was well that Cranmer was left to mature his studies, and eventually to direct the formation of the English Prayer Book, in the light of long accumulated learning and research.

The year in which the King's Primer was published was also the year of the King's return from France, and the year of his need. The war had to be paid for heavily. A new Parliament met to consider the position, and passed an 'Act for the dissolution of Chantries, Hospitals, and Free[1] Chapels.' Chantries have already been explained; hospitals were not merely institutions for the sick, but alms-houses as well; free chapels were endowed chapels-of-ease in certain parishes, or private chapels. Now some of these foundations had already been surrendered into the King's hands, and the Act forced on the process, but the chantry system was so widely rooted that the

[1] Above, p. 11.

remainder of the reign did not see the dissolution completed. The destruction of the chantry system is remarkable, for it shows that the King was ready on occasion to subordinate the existing religion to his immediate necessities. The doctrine of 'Prayer for the departed' had never yet been abolished, and indeed a complete section of the 'Necessary Doctrine' had been devoted to its maintenance in 1543. A remarkable speech, in which the King spoke of the working of the Act, is interesting as showing the diversity of opinion which existed among the clergy at this time, and it may indicate that, on such a point as the great doctrine underlying the chantry system, the proposed change would be supported by a large amount of sympathy: 'I see and heard daily,' said the King, 'that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another.'[1]

The real force of the reaction which we have traced had now almost spent itself.[2] Bishop Bonner noted with alarm a considerable recrudescence of heresy, despite a commission issued in 1546 under the Six Articles Act. Some of the promoters of the New Learning, like the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Chancellor Audeley, and others, had dropped off, but Cranmer was still vigilant, Hertford, the King's brother-in-law, was rising in influence, and the Queen was sympathetic towards the principles of the Archbishop. Plots which had been made to further the Catholic cause failed, and the prospects of those who represented a policy of further change in religion grew

[1] H. A. L. Fisher, p. 476.

[2] Mr Tomlinson has called attention to a story in Foxe, 'Acts and Monuments,' viii. 715, showing that the Six Articles Act was enforced even in Edward's first year.

brighter. Then Henry VIII. died. His last recorded utterance to Parliament on religion two years before was a pathetic confession of the failure of the great alterations that had been made so far: 'I am sure that charity was never so faint among you; and virtuous and godly living was never less used; and God Himself among Christians was never less reverenced, honoured, and served.' But no period of revolution is at once good for the growth of religion, of reverence, of mutual charity. Men's sympathies and antipathies had been deeply stirred, and quieter times were needed for the development of that spirit of Christian concord which the King professed himself anxious to witness. At any rate, he had saved his people from the appalling miseries of a religious civil war, as even then they were being manifested in Germany. For himself, in matters of religion, Henry was an opportunist. He began as a convinced Catholic. After his quarrel with the Pope it suited him, under the influence of Cromwell, perhaps of Cranmer, to espouse the main principles of Lutheranism. The Ten Articles, indeed, were penned by him, and bear a Lutheran impress. Again, under political exigency he receded from this position, and set his face in the direction of a modified Catholicism. But it was different from the Catholicism of the days before the troubling of the waters began. The King's Book and the King's Primer bear the stamp of the Renaissance upon them. Moreover, in all this reaction the King never went back from two points which had been gained: he never closed the open Bible, and he never reintroduced the images and relics which had been abolished. The altered spirit of the end of his reign is manifest when we compare 1529 with 1547.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

IN accordance with the express provision of an Act of Succession passed after Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour, Edward, the son of that marriage, now became king. Further provision had been made for a possible minority, and therefore, as Edward was only nine years old, a council composed of sixteen privy councillors was formed to undertake the task of government. Henry's nomination of this council had striven to balance the new and the old learning, but his omission of Gardiner's name, and the recent disgrace of the Howard family, somewhat upset the balance. Within a day or two of the old king's death the executive council made the uncle of Edward Protector, and the real power at once passed into the hands of this statesman, now known as Earl of Hertford, but shortly created Duke of Somerset. There can be little doubt that Hertford had been watching and working for the position to which he was now called. He was a soldier of some repute, who had seen much service, and had been the victor in more than one enterprise. As brother of Queen Jane Seymour, and a member of the Seymour family, his inclinations were likely to be with the New Learning; and it seems that before he became Protector he had to some extent identified himself with it, and was, to

boot, a somewhat stern and severe man of religion, with deep conviction, and rather intolerant views. His young nephew was a boy of frail constitution, who had inherited his mother's religious temperament, and had been brought up in studious seclusion in an unwholesome atmosphere, in which his ideas developed with some precocity, more particularly perhaps his sense of his own importance and destiny. He was already predisposed by birth and upbringing to the New Learning, and Cranmer's nearness to him in the first exciting days of his reign must have had a deep influence in moulding the resolves of the little king whom the Primate at his coronation addressed 'as a new Josiah who was to reform the worship of God, destroy idolatry, banish the Bishop of Rome, and remove images.'

The contrast between the accession of Edward and of his father is complete. When Henry came to the throne the old order of things had not been touched and the prospect was bright. Then there was a full exchequer, enthusiastic loyalty, excellent foreign relations, and religious peace. When Edward became king, thirty-eight years later, all the relations of Church and State had been altered, and clouds were gathering at every point of outlook. Henry's thirty millions of money had gone, and debt had taken their place. There were possibilities of quarrel with France and the Empire, an actual war with Scotland, no friendship to be had abroad. A social revolution was embittering the relations of all classes at home, and religious dissension was increasing the lack of charity which Henry had deplored. But worst of all was the moral declension which characterised the chief statesmen of the period, and inclined them to be

astute opportunists rather than men of principle and conviction like Bishop Fox and Archbishop Morton, who first controlled the policy of Henry VIII. We shall see that the outlook when Elizabeth came to the throne was scarcely less dark than in 1547, but, unlike Edward, she had the vast benefit of possessing men like Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, who were the support of her inexperienced years.

Into the tangled politics of Edward's brief reign we have not to enter save as they illustrate or explain the religious changes with which we are concerned. To these latter we now confine ourselves. That change would follow we might argue from the known sympathies of King, Protector, and Primate; and we might further argue that the still rising tide of the New Learning, which had already produced alteration, and had almost forced Henry's hand in his later days, would soon manifest its strength when the old king's strong repression was removed. Whatever had been done in the way of restraint and persecution, at the end of the previous reign, had entirely failed to check the advance of the new spirit. The penal laws at once became inoperative, pending their repeal by Parliament. The growth of Protestantism, or whatever name we are to give the religious feelings of the time, at once became manifest in numerous deeds of irreverence of which some record remains, and of others to which allusion is made. Iconoclasm, in fact, got rather out of hand, and even the pillage of Church goods had to be repressed. Tumultuous innovations, indeed, were a constant difficulty throughout the reign. The Government, however, soon began to display the probable line of their policy, for men like Ridley and Barlow, who warmly sympathised with

change, were put up to preach in Lent. Gardiner, who must have felt himself left out in the new order of things, expostulated with the Protector against their sermons and pleaded for a retention of the *status quo* until the King should attain his majority, and this became a standing principle with him and those who took his view. Somerset, as we must now call Hertford, returned Gardiner a letter, and in this he made no secret of prospective change,[1] which doubtless became at once a matter of anxious deliberation.

The programme was ready by the summer of 1547. It was decided to follow the precedent of the Injunctions of 1536 and 1538, when the clergy had been gathered together in their rural deaneries or archdeaconries and were given directions as to preaching, teaching, and behaviour. The method was somewhat amplified. England and Wales were divided up into six circuits, and visitors were appointed, some clerical and some lay, including one preacher for each circuit. The visitors started in September at the very time that the Protector's army of foreign mercenaries was marching north to fight, as it turned out, the bloody battle of Pinkie. The visitors held sessions at various central churches in each diocese, and assembled before them the clergy and the laity of the district. One of their number, a preacher specially selected for the work (Ridley and Ferrar, both afterwards bishops and martyrs, were among the preachers), went into the pulpit and gave a suitable discourse. Then articles of inquiry were read out, and the answers were recorded, and special directions were furnished if required. Common to

[1] Dixon, ii. pp. 419-421.

the proceedings at every centre visited was the reading of a series of Injunctions drawn up on the basis of Cromwell's earlier sets of 1536 and 1538. These of 1547, however, were very much longer and more comprehensive than their predecessors, and form a complete scheme of the Edwardine Reformation in its earlier stages. The chief points are these: Directions for preaching, *e.g.* against Rome, against images and superstition; directions for setting up the Bible and the Paraphrases of Erasmus; and for reading the Homilies; regulations as to Sunday, observance of ceremonies, clerical education, and manner of living. These Injunctions were to be read in church once a quarter, which was again a practice copied from the days of Henry VIII.[1] The Paraphrases of Erasmus were a series of comments upon the Gospels, and, no doubt, were intended by the Government to counteract the fantastic expositions which an unbridled zeal was apt to imagine. The Homilies had been compiled, but never published, in the later years of the previous reign, and constitute the First Book of Homilies.[2] Here we find some of Cranmer's most silvery English, as for instance the first: 'A fruitful exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture.'

In the spirit of this famous document the Injunctions now ordered not merely the setting up of the Bible in churches for the people who could do so to read it for themselves out of service-time, but the actual reading of lessons and Epistle and Gospel in English in service. Further, the visitors broke down and removed all 'abused images' which had not hitherto disappeared in the action taken during 1538.

[1] See above, p. 107. [2] Below, p. 224.

It was not intended to remove other and innocent images, but iconoclastic zeal was often unable to discriminate. The visitation was carried out with great thoroughness, and an oath of fidelity to the King and repudiation of the Pope was imposed upon all the clergy. Its practical effect was to restore the religious position as it had been in 1538, the Homilies being substituted for the Bishops' Book, and outgoing it in reform sympathy. The agent in it all was the Government, for as yet there was neither Parliament nor Convocation assembled.

We can imagine the feelings of Gardiner, Bonner, and the other prominent representatives of the older order. Gardiner had already protested in the spring when the sermons of the Lenten preachers were reported to him. He had renewed the protest as he saw the iconoclastic war invade his own diocese, and a little later he drew up a dignified remonstrance addressed to the Protector, in which he criticised the constitutional character of the policy of the victors. He considered that during the King's minority the Royal Supremacy was virtually in abeyance, and that all the proceedings recently inaugurated were illegal. Yet so long as the statutes of Henry VIII. remained unrepealed, this view could scarcely be sustained; and when Parliament met, a little later on, the King's prerogative was rather increased than diminished, for it was asserted that it was treason to deny the Royal Supremacy 'by writing, printing, overt deed or act.' It was certainly a pity that Gardiner's protest brought him to prison, and that Bonner was likewise sent to jail for resisting the visitors in London. Both, however, were liberated, the latter before and the former after the session of Parliament which is now to be described.

Parliament was summoned for November whilst the visitation was still in progress. We are again without information as to the elaboration of the Government policy in regard to religion. We see, however, that somewhat sweeping measures had been planned. A bill was introduced and passed to repeal in summary fashion some of the repressive Acts of the last reign, and to repeal all the old heresy Acts since 1382. Thus the Six Articles Act, the Proclamations Act, the restrictive Act of 1543, were all abolished, as well as the more ancient statute *de heretico comburendo*, first directed against Lollards, under which, in the late reign, various deaths by burning had been inflicted. Again, the returns made to the visitors had brought to light a great deal of profanity and irreverence, such as would naturally accompany a time of transition. To repress this, a statute[1] was framed in which the hand of Cranmer seems to show itself. It threatens imprisonment and fines for any attempt to 'contemn, despise, or revile the most blessed Sacrament,' and directs that inquiry shall be made at quarter sessions by the justices of the peace as to the observance of this Act. No doubt the Act was partly designed to restrain those who thought that with the abolition of the heresy laws anything might be said or done. Other Acts were passed of considerable social importance.

Convocation was sitting at the same time. The lower house of Canterbury made a strong protest to Cranmer as to the loss of its constitutional position, and made definite proposals concerning the legitimate course for Church legislation to follow,[2] but its

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 322. 1 Edward VI., c. 1.

[2] See more fully Dixon, 'Church History,' ii. 466-9.

demands were not listened to at a time when the policy of the Government was to press on Church measures without the slightest reference to the spiritualty. Indeed, an ordinance of Convocation in favour of the restoration of the cup, which has been frequently cited as suggesting the Act, was not drawn up until the bill 'for receiving in both kinds' had been introduced into Parliament.[1] Similarly, an ordinance of Convocation for the abolition of compulsory celibacy, although it antedated the Act in that behalf passed in the next session of Parliament, can scarcely be supposed to have suggested what the bishops vigorously opposed.[2]

An Act which had wide operation, and is still the subject of some dispute, was passed before the session ended. Chantries had begun to fall some years before, but had only been legally granted to Henry in 1545. The two years which had elapsed since that date had been insufficient for the conclusion of so vast a change as the survey and conveyance of the college, hospital, and chantry lands required. Money was now wanted for the exchequer, and it was determined to bring in a new bill to deal comprehensively with such endowments, and to hand them over to the King. The preamble of the Act asserted[3] that the chantry system had produced errors 'by devising and phantasing vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory,' and proposed to bestow its endowments

[1] For the text of this 'Act against revilers and for receiving in both kinds,' 1 Edward VI., c. 1, see Gee and Hardy, p. 322.

[2] The first bill in favour of abolishing compulsory clerical celibacy was lost in the Lords, and the final Act (2 and 3 Edward VI., c. 21. Gee and Hardy, p. 366) was opposed by nine bishops, whilst no further petition was offered in its favour.

[3] Gee and Hardy, p. 328. 1 Edward VI., c. 14.

'in erecting of grammar schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy.' For this purpose it made a somewhat wholesale confiscation to the King of a variety of endowments, only some of which were chantries. Its wide effects should be realised. It demolished what was left of the large chantry endowments throughout England and Wales. In like manner all guilds, fraternities, and brotherhoods, save those instituted for trade purposes, were brought to an end. Colleges, an ambiguous term which included a large variety of alms-houses, of prebendal establishments, of large and important minsters, were also destroyed. The sweep was tremendous, and it ranged from splendid churches like Ripon, Beverley, and St Mary Redcliffe, to humble village endowments of a field or close or tenement, burdened with the obligation of maintaining an obit, lamp, or light in the parish church. Not only estates, but furniture, plate, and fabrics were made over to the King. In profession, however, this confiscation was by no means without compensation. The dispossessed priests were to be pensioned, and they were well pensioned. Direct provision was made for continuing existing educational obligations connected with chantry, guild, or fraternity; for endowing in perpetuity a vicar for every parish church affected by the Act; for maintaining additional clergy in populous places; for upholding existing pensions and grants for the poor. All this compensation was to be carried out over and above the educational provision spoken of in the preamble.[1] No one, then, can accuse

[1] Cranmer voted against the Chantries Bill in the hope that if the bill were postponed till Edward came of age the money might be applied to education.

the Act of illiberality. The only question is as to the execution of its generous enactments. It has been the fashion to consider it as an act of spoliation hypocritically expressed, the Government having no intention of carrying out anything but its confiscation. There is reason to believe that there was the strictest intention of fulfilling all its obligations; that much was done with this object in view; but that the rapid march of events and the difficulties of the time prevented the proper discharge of all the responsibilities which the bill laid upon those in power.[1] Some schools were founded, but not many, for a bill to secure the object did not become law, though it passed the Commons in 1549.

The interval between the first and second sessions of Parliament was marked by several matters of importance. Proclamations were made to stop the irreverence and unlicensed innovations which were still unchecked; as Lent approached, further proclamations forbad the time-honoured ceremonies of Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, and Holy Week; another finally extinguished all images, not merely those which had been abused. But before this, Cranmer began to confer with the other bishops as to carrying out the spirit of the Act for communicating in both kinds.[2] That Act directed the minister to exhort the people to worthy reception, and to warn them of 'the danger and indignation of God threatened to them which shall presume to receive the same unworthily.' And so, when Easter 1548 came, there was ready and printed an English Order of Communion, to be used at Mass after the priest had himself communicated.

[1] See Pollard's 'England under Protector Somerset,' p. 123.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 322.

Until that point in the service the old Latin Mass was still followed; and then came in English the Invitation, the longer and shorter Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, Words of Administration, and the Peace. All these elements in the Order were very much as we have them to-day. Their general source is the Consultation of Archbishop Hermann, of Cologne, which had recently appeared as a kind of directory for public prayer in his diocese, and had been translated into English. As we look into the words, so familiar to us from their incorporation into the Prayer Book, perhaps the point of chief historical interest is the general confession, which was a liturgical novelty at the time, and the direction that the general confession and absolution might, if the communicant desired, take the place of a private confession. Such a concession marks a distinct breach with the unvarying requirement of auricular confession before reception.[1] The whole service, however, was not popular, and a good deal of disturbance in 1548, renewed with more violence in the following year, made liturgical change one of its special grievances. For fear of ministering further irritation by unwise preaching, nothing was to be allowed by way of pulpit discourse save the Homilies of 1547.

It requires little effort to realise the effect of a year's piecemeal legislation in matters of religion. The abolition of the heresy laws must inevitably have tended to make men think that they might believe as

[1] The last section of 1 Edward VI., c. 1 (above p. 136) abolished compulsory confession; *cf.* Gee and Hardy, pp. 327-8. In the contemporary *Grey Friars' Chronicle* it is related that 'at the following Easter after Edward's accession then began the communion and confession but of those who would.'

they pleased, and a bewildering series of proclamations as to religious ceremonies and observances can scarcely have failed to create an impression that the Government did not know its own mind. In place of what had been swept away, and was being swept away—time-honoured ceremonies connected with the most solemn festivals, time-honoured beliefs rooted in popular conviction—no real substitute was furnished by Injunctions and Homilies which dealt mainly with the truths of practical religion. The moment, too, was critical, for as in the fourth century the august mystery of Our Lord's Person became a subject of popular debate, so about the year 1548 the great question of the Presence in the Eucharist was matter of widest discussion. It was an inspiration, then, which seized Cranmer about this time when he conceived the idea of compiling the English Book of Common Prayer. Here would be uniformity of worship, of doctrine, of discipline, which all would learn to understand and to appreciate. Had we access to any record of what passed between Cranmer and Somerset at this juncture, we should find in all probability that the suggestion of one uniform intelligible liturgy recommended the plan to the Protector, who desired political unanimity, and would deplore the irritating effect of religious dissension.

Accordingly, once more, Cranmer gathered helpers round him, and began that work of translation, adaptation, and supplementing, which issued next year in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. The long years of deliberate study now bore fruit, and Cranmer was able to place before his colleagues the result of his research. We have in the British Museum two schemes or drafts which are now known

to be studies or preliminary steps to the work as it left Cranmer and those associated with him. From these it is clear that he felt his way with some hesitation and change of plan. But, beyond the existence of these drafts, we are ignorant of the exact stages in the formation of the book. At last a tentative result was ready, and was endorsed by a majority of those deliberating. The second session of Edward's Parliament began on November 24, and it was determined to bring the book before it. Here the one thing that was taken up was the doctrine of the Mass, and a singular three days' debate was held in the House of Lords upon three questions: (1) Whether there was a real presence in the Eucharist; (2) Whether it is received by evil men; (3) Whether there is transubstantiation. The dates, however, prove conclusively that this discussion cannot have modified the draft of the Communion Office as it left Cranmer.[1] Knowing, as we do, the general character of his views, it is probable that a compromise was reached either in the House or out of it, and that a good deal was not pleasing to the Archbishop. Whether the book was brought before Convocation or not is doubtful,[2] but the probability seems to be that it was not submitted to them. A new procedure was instituted when an Act of Uniformity was passed to establish the completed work. It recited the fact that difference of use had occasioned inconvenience, and that recent innovation had led the King to 'draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of

[1] This was proved by Mr Tomlinson in a review of the question called 'The Great Parliamentary Debate in 1548.'

[2] See Dixon, iii. pp. 5, 127 *note*, 130 *note*, 146 *note*, 147 *note*, 161 *note*, 163.

common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments.' It therefore enjoins the present book under penalty for failure to use it, or for depravation. In this way, for the first time, penalties were attached by the State to clerical neglect of uniformity, and, indeed, to any disrespect shown to the book by clergyman or by layman. We also see the beginning of that state of things which still makes it impossible for a line or a word of the Prayer Book to be altered save by the consent of Parliament.[1]

The best account of the object of the book is not that set forth in the Act of Uniformity, but that which Cranmer himself gives in the original preface, based upon the reformed breviary of Cardinal Quignon. After describing the scriptural character of early services, it points out that 'this godly and decent order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories and legends with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodals . . . that they have heard with their ears only, and their heart, spirit, and mind have not been edified thereby.' It goes on to depict 'the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie.' Such inconveniences are abolished in the book before the reader, it says, 'so that here you have an order for Prayer and for the reading of the Holy Scripture much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers. . . Now from henceforth all the realm shall have but one use.'

The sources used in the compilation of the book may be briefly enumerated. The book itself and the Act of Uniformity indicate them only generally. Extended research has now enabled us to trace the origin of

[1] See Gee and Hardy, p. 358. 2 and 3 Edward VI., c. 1.

nearly all that the book contains. The foundation of the whole is the use of Sarum, which was the most widely known of all the pre-reformation uses in England. Morning and Evening Prayer, also the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, come largely from it. To the old Liturgies is due rather general sanction and spirit than much actual wording of the several parts. Quignon's recently reformed breviary contributes many ideas to the preface, something also to the calendar, and the plan of reading the Scripture is influenced by it. The influence of Hermann's Consultation is seen in parts of the Communion and Baptismal Services.

The enormous revolution produced by the book will be apparent on reflexion. It swept out all the numerous old Latin service books with what was, no doubt, their considerable intricacy, but also with their very great beauty and interest. The really beautiful Latin hymns of the breviary were omitted, and their omission in translated form is a distinct loss. But the translation of the prayers is usually superb, for it is seldom that Cranmer's happy rendering and exquisite balance of phrase desert him. No greater benefit fell to the lot of the English Church in the sixteenth century than the possession of his devotional genius. Turning to the various parts, some characteristics of order and contents are at once apparent. The early offices of Matins, Lauds, and Prime are compressed into Morning Prayer. Vespers and Compline are compressed into Evening Prayer. They both begin with the Lord's Prayer said aloud. The Venite has no interlarding of invitatories varying with the season ; the Psalms are fewer in number and are deprived of antiphons. Two lessons are read in English and at due length, not a series of mere scraps as in the old offices. Fewer collects follow than of

yore. Everywhere is seen Cranmer's 'order more profitable,' for there is no Ave, no apocryphal or doubtful legend, no perplexing search 'to find out what should be read.' The Holy Communion 'commonly called the Mass' begins with rubrics as to vestments. The celebrant wears 'a white alb plain with a vestment or cope.' If he has assistants they are vested in 'albs with tunicles.' He stands 'humbly before the midst of the altar.' The service opens with an Introit. There is no ceremonial preparation of the priest in the vestry. The Ordinary, or part which varies according to season, is briefer and less ceremonial, far less ceremonial than in the Sarum use. The canon, or fixed part of the service, loses much of the older symbolism, is denuded of much ceremonial, and loses some of the various commemorations in the older form. There is no genuflexion and no elevation now. Words, too, are specially introduced which seem to alter the medieval conception of the mode of the Presence. Of the occasional offices it may be said quite generally that they display a similar spirit of compromise. Many of the medieval ceremonies disappear, but on the other hand not a few survive, such as exorcism and the chrism at baptism.

But it is impossible to generalise the features of the book intelligibly, or to mention them briefly. To gain an idea of what went, and of what replaced it, the text of the old offices needs study in the first instance; and then Edward's First Book must be compared in detail.[1] One thing will probably strike the reader, that the book represents in the daily services a shortened and expurgated compression of

[1] This is most easily done by referring to W. Keeling's 'Liturgiæ Britannicæ,' which may be consulted in a good library. Also Maskell's 'Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England.'

the old offices; in the Communion a compromise between the old and the new which is certainly not Lutheran, and much less Zwinglian; in the occasional offices a compromise again, which is perhaps in this part more Lutheran in character.

The Act of Uniformity directed that the new Prayer Book should come into use not later than Whit Sunday 1549, and from that day it became penal for any clergyman to use 'any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of Mass, openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the Sacraments, or other open prayer.' Probably no great religious reformation was ever at once acceptable, and it would be impossible for a whole nation to see its ancient system of worship uprooted without some remonstrance. Moreover, added to this revolution in devotion was the changed aspect of every parish church where images had been cast out and demolished, and popular observances consecrated by immemorial sanction had been ruthlessly prohibited. Nearly all the dramatic side of public worship had been abolished by the bewildering changes that had now culminated in the Prayer Book. The very next day a new Pilgrimage of Grace which was something more than the demonstration that had been, began in Devonshire and Cornwall. 'Ten thousand stout and valiant personages' arose for the old religion, and voiced their demands. They marched upon Exeter and cried: 'We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of Matins, Mass, Evensong, and procession in Latin, not in English.' Replies were given, and Cranmer laid aside for once his habitual gentleness and answered them roughly: 'You call the new service a Christmas

game. It is far more like a game to see the priest talking Latin, and the people listening without understanding.' Almost coincidently there were other risings in Oxfordshire, in Norfolk and Suffolk, in Kent, and in Yorkshire. The Norfolk rebels made loud protestation against the changes, as the West countrymen had done. The hands of the Government were already full with the Scottish war which had broken out in the previous year, and through it there were fears of getting embroiled with France, whither the infant Mary, Edward's destined bride, had recently been taken, to be betrothed at last, however, to the Dauphin. Prompt measures were taken, and helped by the long summer days, the rebellion was soon stamped out. In Devonshire Lord Russell had trouble to overcome 'the valour and stoutness of the men' whom he advanced to meet with the foreign mercenaries that Somerset had hired for other service. In East Anglia a band of Italians aided the Marquis of Northampton, but were unable to stand against the insurgents until reinforced by Warwick, who had been hastily recalled from Scotland with a following of Germans. But on many a steeple in the disaffected parts ghastly corpses rattled in chains for weeks to come, and offered an example of the fate that would overtake any renewal of the rising. In Devonshire and Cornwall the peals of bells were pulled out to prevent their being used again to ring the villagers to rise in the cause of the old religion.

It is easy and perhaps natural to represent the really formidable risings of 1549 as a popular protest against the religious policy of the Government. Religion was certainly greatly mixed up with the movement; more in Devonshire and Norfolk, perhaps, than

elsewhere. Any discriminating account must look deeper for the true cause of what prompted Englishmen to rise at a moment of great national danger and to defy the Government. In great measure there was a repetition of the social throes which in the days of Wycliffe forced the people into rebellion.[1] A vast social and agrarian revolution was in progress during the sixteenth century. This is not the place in which to examine at length the origin and progress of that vast change which accompanied the breaking up of medieval society, and the formation of the newer order, which was very slowly developed during the sixteenth century. It must be enough to say that in the process of development from the old conditions to the new, there were moments when the birth-pangs of the latter were felt with peculiar acuteness, and that the reign of Edward VI. was one of these.[2] The dissolution of the monasteries, with its consequent disappearance of kindly landlords and almsgivers, was a cause of considerable distress among the poor. More widespread in its influence was the great change in the tenure of the land. All over England land was being used no longer for agriculture, but for feeding sheep, and in consequence of this far fewer labourers were wanted, as ploughing and hoeing and other operations became unnecessary. This took place at a time when labour was already very cheap, and vagabondage increasing. Commons, too, once the property of the commune, were being enclosed by the new landed proprietors, who were turning out the old small landlords and tenants. Commercial competition was beginning

[1] For an account of these risings in their relation to the Prayer Book, see N. Pocock's 'Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of 1549' (Camden Society).

[2] See Pollard's 'England under Protector Somerset.'

to have dire effects, and evicted tenants in a condition of great misery were a constant source of danger in many counties. Rents were being raised by the new race of landlords in place of the old customary service. So distressing were the conditions of the time that a bishop did not exaggerate when he said of the labouring classes: 'A great number of them are so pined and famished by the reason of the great scarcity and dearth of all kind of victuals, that the great sheep-masters have brought into this noble realm, that they are become more like the slavery and peasantry of France than the ancient and godly yeomanry of England.'[1] Not much wonder then that the common people, who felt the circumstances acutely, put down their increasing misery to the changes in religion. They had neither the knowledge nor the patience to study the economic problems of the day. It was enough for them that it was no longer 'Merry England,' and that religion was everywhere being changed. The two things were connected in their mind as effect and cause, and therefore they rose to demand the restoration of what had gone. Certainly no more unpropitious juncture could have been chosen for the appearance of the English Prayer Book, and as a further blow to its popularity a fresh visitation was carried out, so far as we know, at the very moment when men were rising to give utterance to the grievances which were pressing them so severely.

[1] Strype, 'Eccl. Mem.,' ii. 2, 482.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK, AND THE ARTICLES

WE have already seen something of the foreign religious influences which found their way into England during the reign of Henry VIII., and produced a considerable effect upon the course of the Reformation. Speaking quite generally they came from Germany, and may be summed up roughly under the name Lutheranism. Incidental mention has also been made[1] of the influence of Swiss Reformers, and since the operation of this force suddenly becomes a factor of the greatest importance in the events which led to the formation of the Second Prayer Book, it is necessary to examine its origin and character more fully. The Reformation in Switzerland had developed quite independently of the Lutheran movement in Germany. Similar causes were operating in both cases, but there was no connexion between Saxony and Switzerland. The first leader of the Swiss Reformation was Zwingli, whose chief centre of work was the active and vigorous city of Zurich. He died as early as 1531, and his mantle fell upon his son-in-law, Bullinger, who was destined to have a very real influence upon the English Reformation. Œcolampadius was equally dominant at Basle, which had early been touched by the spirit of the Renaissance; and at Geneva, Farel was the chief force until, in 1536, Calvin

[1] See p. 100.

came upon the scene, and gradually took the lead, not only in Geneva, but in Switzerland generally.

These great Swiss teachers produced first of all a theology and then a Church polity, which had, and indeed has still, a marked effect upon English thought and practice. At present we need not trouble ourselves with the views of the Swiss Reformers concerning the government of the Church, for that matter comes up later on.[1] At this stage we have to notice in particular the general cast of the doctrine which was formulated in Switzerland on the question of the Presence in the Holy Communion. The earlier Swiss leaders adopted a view which, rightly or wrongly, has been ascribed to Zwingli, and goes by the name of Zwinglianism. It is probably correct to say that they and those who followed them, until Calvin took the whole question up to higher ground, regarded the elements as in no real sense the Body and Blood of Our Lord, but merely as signs which represented them to the believer. Such language was abhorrent to Luther, and when Cranmer first came in contact with the Zwinglian doctrine about the time that he was appointed archbishop, he was horrified at the position. But he studied, nevertheless, all that Zwingli and Œcolampadius wrote upon the subject,[2] and it can scarcely be thought that their statements were without effect.

Few, if any, books written by the Swiss Reformers seem to have come to England in the reign of Henry VIII. Meanwhile, they were multiplying at Zurich, in Basle, and elsewhere; and whilst their effect in Switzerland was profound, it spread likewise to Southern Germany, and made its mark upon several

[1] See p. 247.

[2] Cranmer's Works, ii. 344.

cities in that district, and more particularly at Strassburg, where Bucer became a religious leader of importance second only to that of Luther and Melanchthon. When Edward became king in England, and Somerset inaugurated the liberal policy which practically allowed freedom of thought to all, the works of the Swiss writers began to find their way more numerously into this country, where they produced a profound impression. The output of books upon religion increased at once nearly fivefold, and in this large literature the subject which of all others received the most copious treatment was the doctrine of the Presence in the Holy Communion. The year which saw the publication of the Order of Communion in England was signalised by the printing of at least twenty books connected with that Sacrament.[1]

It is not pretended that Zwinglian doctrine alone penetrated this country at that time. Probably varying shades of opinion were represented, as was certainly the case with the foreign teachers who were now coming over to our shores. Untoward events were happening on the Continent, with the result that not a few reformers, typical of various schools of reform thought, found a refuge here. First of these was Peter Martyr, driven from Florence by the Inquisition, who journeyed by way of Strassburg, where he became the firm friend of Bucer and taught for about five years. The pressure now put upon the German Protestants by Charles V. induced an exodus from German pastorates and professorships. So Peter Martyr came in 1547 and was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford, while Bucer held the same post at Cambridge. The influence which men in such positions were likely to have upon the students

[1] Pollard's 'Cranmer,' p. 209.

who attended their lectures is incalculable. But these men, befriended by Cranmer, were only the chief of the band; others like Alasco the Pole, and Poullain the Flemish pastor, presided over foreign congregations in England; and others like Véron the Frenchman wrote vigorous tracts in denunciation of the Mass. Nor must we forget Englishmen like Hooper, Coverdale, Traheron, who, having lived abroad, imbibed Swiss or other influence, and came back in Edward's reign to spread it. Its main complexion was certainly Swiss.

The years in which the earlier immigrants came to England marked a critical period in the development of Cranmer's views on the Eucharist. At first Zwinglianism was repulsive to him, and, indeed, he never accepted it, but by degrees he approximated to it until, under the influence of Ridley and perhaps of Peter Martyr, he reached his resting-point on the great controversy. That he was in constant contact and correspondence with teachers from abroad is a well-known fact, and that their frequent colloquies strengthened his convictions is clearly discerned when we look at his writings. What the exact moment was when the course of his studies led him to give up the Lutheran view, or something not unlike it, and to adopt a theory more nearly approaching though not identical with Zwinglianism, is not known.[1] It seems clear that when he came to put

[1] We have his own statement that 'not long before [he] wrote the said catechism [of 1548] I was in that error of the real presence as I was many years past in divers other errors as of Transubstantiation' ('On the Lord's Supper,' p. 374). He also tells us that Ridley influenced him ('Remains,' p. 218). At all events the change of view had been effected before the majority of the foreigners arrived in England, and cannot be attributed to them.

the new Prayer Book into shape in 1548 his confused ideas had run clear, and that his Lutheranism was already a thing of the past. If the date is correct, we must suppose that he came to the famous debate of 1548 in the first flush of his new convictions, and that the communion office of Edward's First Book, as it was ultimately shaped, did not express his own views, but was a compromise reached by concessions on either side, to which Cranmer was loyally faithful for some time. The intense disappointment [1] of those who had hoped for a more explicit representation of his own standpoint goes to prove the correctness of what is here said. But one thing is certain, if we leave the Archbishop out of the question for the moment, namely, that a new generation of Protestants or Reformers, or whatever name we give them, made its appearance in England during Edward's reign, and it would be the most correct appellation we could use to call them the first generation of Puritans. They were not the result of the Lutheran movement, certainly not of the fanatical or Anabaptist school, but speaking generally they were the disciples of the Swiss school of reformers at the moment widely dominant in England through its books and its teachers. They were apt to describe themselves as 'Christians,' or as 'they that have received the Gospel,' [2] and their sermons and remains show with perfect clearness the outline of that theology which regards all of a different complexion as 'Papists,' and adopts a kind of Donatist position in the Church. Cranmer, however, with his massive learning must never be considered to have distantly approached these extremists.

[1] See Pollard's 'Cranmer,' p. 220.

[2] 'Whether Christian Faith may be Kept Secret,' etc., 1553.

It does not seem to be possible to label the sympathies of the Protector Somerset during the two years and a half that he was in power. He has been called a 'Calvinist,' but we do not know enough about him to be able to determine this, and there is no proof that he came under Swiss influence at all. Probably he occupied a mediating position, for it is impossible to imagine that the doctrine of the First Prayer Book, a work greatly due to his encouragement, was repugnant to him. At all events, he helped forward a sober compromise between the older Catholicism and the new religious forces that were operating in England in the disturbed days during which he was supreme. With the year 1549 we reach the limit of his influence, whether in politics or in religion. Whatever we are to say of his influence upon the Reformation, his work as a statesman was a failure. It has been claimed for him, and perhaps rightly claimed, that he was only a failure because he was in advance of his age.[1] At any rate, his great scheme for the union of England and Scotland miscarried; his work as a social reformer was unsuccessful; his foreign policy brought England to a war with France, which ended ignominiously for this country. He struggled on in the face of all this failure at home and abroad, but he was not able to battle against the growing unpopularity with which he was regarded by his fellow-councillors, who were jealous of his position, and by the wealthy landowners, whose thoughtless measures for enriching themselves he had striven to check in the interest of the poorer classes. As in the days of Cromwell, so now, a strong party formed up

[1] This is Professor Pollard's view in his 'England under Protector Somerset.'

to stay the progress of the predominant personage. The result of the cabal was that Somerset was thrown from his position, and found his way to the Tower, from which for a short time he returned ignominiously to a diminished influence. His control of the Reformation movement had ceased, and now that his restraining force was gone there began that increasing triumph of the more extreme school whose origin and spread we have just traced, a triumph which would have been impossible had he remained in power.

When Somerset left the supreme control of affairs in the autumn of 1549, there was some uncertainty as to the probable course of events. It was thought that there might be a return to the *status quo* of Henry's last year. Warwick, however—better known as Northumberland—who had gained considerable prestige by his suppression of the Norfolk rebellion a year before, and had headed the coalition against Somerset, was soon recognised as the new political leader in the Council. He had as yet given no evidence of religious sympathy, and his Church policy was matter of speculation. Evidently he at once took stock of the situation, and with discerning eye measured the increasing proportions of the rising Swiss School. Probably he had no definite convictions, but saw that the future lay with it, rather than with the Lutherans, and that so long as Edward lived the Catholic party had no hope. Beyond the lifetime of the boy-king he did not yet look. Parliament assembled in November, and one of the first things it did was to reject a proposed[1] enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline to stem the moral abuses of the time, which, if

[1] Referred to in Dixon, iii. 158.

we may trust Latimer,[1] who preached much in London in the following Lent, was greatly needed. The Commons had no mind to return under the yoke of the discipline of the Church again. Northumberland first showed his hand about Christmas Day, when, in view of the great festival, a proclamation was issued to promote the use of the Prayer Book, and to direct the destruction of all the old Latin service books which had been superseded by the English book, but had not yet been destroyed. This was followed by an Act of Parliament which extended the Order of the Council, and originated the wholesale destruction of the books at the hands of bishops and their commissaries. Vigilant search began, and that is the reason why so vast a number of the ancient service books perished, leaving only a small and pitiful survival to lurk in unsuspected corners, and thence to find their way into museums and libraries. Any forgotten images were likewise to be destroyed. At the end of January another act ordered the formation of a committee of twelve bishops and divines to draw up an English ordinal to serve as an appendix to the Prayer Book. This is the last example of the spirit of compromise which had produced that book, for the Edwardine ordinal, whilst it differs much from the medieval pontifical, retained many points which were soon given up. Thus there was a delivery of chalice and paten, and a corporal oath was taken, but the minor orders for which the Act made provision were omitted from the service of ordination, and, despite the Ember prayer for 'divers orders,' have never been restored.

From the day that the Act was passed for the de-

[1] Referred to in Dixon, iii. 179.

struction of the service books, Northumberland hurried along the pathway of change. He first got rid of those on the Council who were likely to oppose his measures. He countermanded the permission given by Somerset to the Princess Mary and her suite to have Mass after the old rite. He burnt two heretics. One pretext or another was found to entrap all the bishops of the Old Learning, and to consign them to prison. Bonner alone was deprived in 1550, but Gardiner, Heath, Day, Voysey were made to follow him next year; and Tunstall was forced to yield the Palatinate of Durham on a charge of treason, which we now know to have been engineered by Northumberland, in order to seize upon the bishopric of Durham, with its time-honoured jurisdiction, and to appropriate it to himself.

But the last few lines are anticipative: let us return to the year 1550 and to the diocese of London. Here Ridley, 'the most notablest learned man of them all,' as Heath once said, had taken the place of Bonner. It is not possible to doubt his sincerity, whatever we may think of his tact. London was the chief centre of the forward movement in the Reformation, and when Bonner was deprived by a commission for opposing the changes, Ridley set to work with great energy and carried through a visitation in which he desired to purge the Church in London. In the Injunctions which he drew up he outwent anything that had as yet been ordained, by directing the stone altars throughout his diocese to be taken down. The words and the action are significant: 'Wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old super-

stitious opinions of the popish mass and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered . . . and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.' Now Ridley cannot be called a Zwinglian. He is typical of the mediating school of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer, who all approximated to the Zwinglian view so-called, but did not reach it. His action represents the conviction of his school, which was that as long as the stone altars remained, so long the view of a material sacrifice offered for the living and the dead by priestly mediation would continue. Ridley wished to deal that view its death-blow, and Northumberland sympathising with his action in Essex and Middlesex, a letter was written by the Council in the King's name directing the bishops to carry out a similar demolition in their dioceses. Thus another great break with the medieval order of things was carried out, and the lack of uniformity began in regard to the position of the table which led to so much confusion in rather later days.

The responsibility for beginning the destruction of stone altars is generally attributed to Ridley, but there is some reason for believing that he merely carried out in his own diocese a movement inaugurated by the visitors of 1549, whose proceedings are wrapped in much obscurity.[1] It may be convenient to put together at this point the main facts concerning the destruction, both licensed and unlicensed, of Church goods generally. The process began with the visitation of 1547, which demolished 'abused images'; it

[1] Procter and Frere, 'History of the Prayer Book,' p. 60.

was renewed in the larger image-war of 1548; meanwhile unlicensed pillage had begun, as for instance at Great Yarmouth,[1] where on 12th January 1549 a schedule was drawn up of Church goods, consisting of plate, bell-metal, copes, vestments, and other ornaments sold by order of the Common Council. The same kind of thing went on at Eye,[2] and doubtless in other places. A month later the Privy Council took alarm, and issued commissions to visitors to go into every shire and to draw up 'inventories of Church plate, ornaments, etc.,' and to forbid their sale or removal.[3] Viewed in the light of what took place, this action was not adopted in the interests of reverence, but to prevent the dissipation of treasure which might be useful to the king. Then came the work of Ridley with the altars, and its imitation throughout England by the authority of the Council at the very time that the First Prayer Book was still in force, and the celebrant was directed to 'stand humbly afore the midst of the altar.' Undiscriminating zeal did not stop with the altars, for we find other Church furniture being sold, as for instance at St Stephen's, Walbrook, in 1550, where a sale takes place of almost the whole of the Church goods, including chalices, vestments, and altar cloths. At St Alphege's, cruets, albs, even organs are sold. At Yarmouth in 1551 an auction was held of articles not previously disposed of, and the very brasses from the gravestones were melted down to make brass weights for the Corporation. These are merely samples of what was being done in 1550 and 1551. We can scarcely wonder that many attributed

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., ix. (1) 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, x. (4) 530-1.
[3] S. P. Dom., 15th Feb.

a severe visitation of the plague to such proceedings: 'Here they rejoice at the calamity,' said a letter from Augsburg, 'and impute it to the religion and say, "ubi est Deus eorum?"'[1]

Yet something more than mere destruction was being attempted. The bishops, who in this reign were appointed without any *congé d'élire*, were being carefully selected under Northumberland's direction from the ranks of extreme Reformers. Coverdale, Ponet, Scory, and above all Hooper, were elected to vacant sees in 1551, and all were of Ridley's school, or, more accurately, outwent him. Hooper, indeed, for his stern refusal to accept oath or vestment (until he gave way under pressure), has often been described as the first Nonconformist. Indeed these men conformed with reluctance, and were considered by their friends to be submitting to an ungodly compromise in thus conforming to the use of the Prayer Book and its ceremonies. In certain cases they seem to have anticipated the later separatism as early as 1550. Northumberland had no sympathy with such Nonconformist congregations, yet he encouraged bishops of the type of Hooper as far as he could, and, as we shall see, was anxious to place John Knox, the Scottish Reformer, at Rochester, when, in 1552, Ponet was translated to Gardiner's See of Winchester, and this in order that Knox might 'act as a whetstone' to Cranmer. But whatever our own sympathies may be, as we look at these Edwardine bishops, no praise can be too strong for the indefatigable work that they did in their dioceses. No toil wearied them, and at a time when all preachers combined were few, they were themselves instant in season and out of

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., 1883, p. 90.

season. But if preachers were rare, the silent eloquence of the many annotated editions of the New Testament must not be forgotten. No doubt some of the notes were highly controversial, yet the spread of the Bible in these years must have been an influence of considerable power.[1] The number of editions which appeared in Edward's reign is said to have been between twenty and thirty.[2]

Whilst all this was in progress, a book was published by Cranmer in which he set forth the mature expression of his views concerning the Eucharist. It appeared significantly at the very time that the altars were being broken down. The title of the work is 'A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament.'[3] In it he explains very fully his conception of the real spiritual presence as opposed to the real corporal presence, and repudiates the so-called Zwinglian view that the elements are 'vain or bare tokens.' His view is substantially that of Ridley, as we see in a work which Ridley wrote upon the same subject.[4] Gardiner answered it from prison, driving his blade in deeply by his assertion that for the first time in history a Primate of all England had called in question the central mystery of Christian worship. This reply appeared just before a commission was issued to try Gardiner on various charges, and in the long drawn-out trial the whole question at issue between him and Cranmer came up for full discussion. The

[1] The London churches were fairly well supplied (Dixon, iii. 167), but in country districts licensed preachers were only occasional visitants. The regular instruction would be that which the Injunctions ordered (see p. 134).

[2] 'Camb. Mod. Hist.,' ii. 500.

[3] Reprinted from the edition of Jenkyns by Dr C. H. H. Wright, 1907.

[4] Edited by Bishop Moule, 1895.

combined effect of the book and the trial was to make it perfectly clear that, even if Gardiner and his school had entertained no insuperable objection[1] to the Eucharistic doctrines of Edward's First Book, at all events they regarded the views set forth in Cranmer's 'Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament' as an error condemned by the ecclesiastical laws of the realm. Meanwhile some of them were reading into the Communion office meanings which it was never intended to bear. It was seen by Cranmer that nothing short of drastic revision could remedy this 'depraving' of the book. Probably he desired such a revision from the first appearance of the Prayer Book, for he seems to have submitted it both to Peter Martyr and to Bucer in the very year of its publication, and to have asked for their opinions. Bucer took infinite pains with a detailed examination, which he presented to his diocesan Goodrick at the beginning of 1551. This *Censura*, as it was called, seems to have confirmed, if it did not always suggest, the majority of the changes subsequently introduced. Nearly every point indicated as needing alteration was changed, and a rough estimate gives these results: 16 suggestions adopted wholly, 5 partially, and 7 rejected.[2] The most significant of Bucer's objections concerned vestments, non-communicating attendance, prayers for the dead, the sign of the Cross, the Manual Acts, the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the prayer of consecration. In all these points his criticisms either influenced or fortified the revisers' judgment.

[1] They could not accept it. Gardiner was willing to acquiesce in the Communion office, but 'he would not have made it after that form' ('Acts of Privy Council,' iii. 44-48).

[2] See in detail, Dixon, 'Church History,' iii. 282-292.

The actual steps taken in the revision are all obscure. We know that it was already in hand when Bucer's *Censura* was sent in, and we also know, from a later reference made by Cranmer, that it was the work of 'a great many bishops and other of the best learned within this realm and appointed for that purpose.'[1] Cranmer also suggests that it was the result of long conference. It was ready in 1551, but as Parliament did not sit until January 1552, it could only then be introduced to Parliament and Convocation. In the Lords the question of uniformity in religion was introduced on the very first day of the session. We have merely mention of the bills introduced, and we gather that for six weeks two questions were discussed: (1) the failure of the First Book, and (2) the enforcement of the new one. Parliament scarcely knew its own mind, and introduced two bills, which were eventually fused, and became the rather clumsy Act which is known as the Second Edwardine Act of Uniformity. This Act enforced attendance at church (which had not been made binding by the previous Act), and made the use of the Second Book obligatory. It outwent the first Act in bringing penalties to bear upon the laity for absence from church, or for attendance at any other form of service. Convocation appears to have had nothing to do with the Second Prayer Book.[2]

The relation of the book to the circumstances of the time at once indicates its general tone as compared with the First Book. It is distinctly more Protestant in character, and this comes out at every turn and corner, but particularly in the Communion Office. To mention the chief alterations: in the daily services all

[1] See, for instance, Gee, 'Elizabethan Prayer Book,' p. 225.
[2] Procter and Frere, 'Hist. Prayer Book,' p. 80.

the first part which precedes the Lord's Prayer is added. The Communion Service is entirely recast. Additions confront us in the Commandments; transpositions in the place of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the division of the Consecration Prayer; omissions in the Introit, Invocation of Saints, Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the Elements, the mixed chalice, Sign of the Cross, *Agnus Dei*, manual acts, vestments, the terms mass and altar. In the Occasional Offices the Sign of the Cross is omitted, as also the anointing, exorcism, and the chrysom. In short, the revisers appear to have taken the criticisms of Bucer one by one, and in nearly every case they adopted the suggestions he made, whilst they were careful to fashion anew or to reject all those features which Gardiner had mentioned with approbation.

The new book was to come into general use on 1st November. Several things happened in the six months' interval. It had been suggested that the King's need of money might be met by authorised confiscation of Church goods. Obviously the thought was that the bare ritual of the new book would ill agree with the treasures of gold and silver and other metals, or the vast hoards of rich vestments, which the careful inventories of 1549 had minutely recorded. In April, commissions were appointed to go through all the counties of England; to compare all the articles of Church furniture with the previous lists; to appropriate whatever seemed superfluous; to leave what might seem sufficient for the order of things that was to begin in November. So the work began, and was continued through the remainder of the year, nor was it completed after twelve months had elapsed, so enormous was the plunder. Not a little, however, escaped the hands of the commissioners, for whilst the spoiling of the churches

was in progress, ornaments and gifts bestowed by pious ancestors, or by those still living, were carried away by those who desired to save them from alienation, and in some cases by those who anticipated the visitors in appropriating the articles for their own use. We happen to know that the whole commission was utterly abhorrent to Cranmer, and that Ridley, who had pulled down the altars, viewed the new proceedings with displeasure.[1] To the Archbishop, indeed, the confiscation appeared to be a piece of tyrannical robbery. Yet it went on, and three months after it began, the final alienation of chantry lands commenced, in order to finish off the surrender of all not yet accounted for. The process of replenishing the Exchequer was rounded off by a series of negotiations with the bishops, whereby they agreed to take a sum of money instead of holding the estates, or to surrender part of the latter for a pecuniary composition.

Another episode in the interval before the Prayer Book came into use has a curious history. The Scottish Reformer Knox, whom Northumberland had designed for a bishopric, was appointed a king's chaplain, and took upon himself to preach the doctrines of the extreme Swiss School. In London he opened his mind as to the burning question of the posture for reception of the elements in the Holy Communion. No direction had been given in the First Book, but in the Second, which was being printed off, kneeling was enjoined. The preaching of Knox made some impression, and the Council at the end of September ordered the suspension of the printing of the book until further notice. Cranmer was told to consider the advisability of altering the

[1] Pollard's 'Cranmer,' pp. 259-260.

direction at the eleventh hour, but refused in the most peremptory way to reopen the question at the instance of 'these glorious and unquiet spirits.' On 27th October a compromise was ordered by the Council, to the effect that the printers should add a rubric at the end of the Communion Office to justify and explain kneeling at reception. The very next day Northumberland expressed the wish that the King would appoint Knox to the vacant bishopric of Rochester, where 'he would be a whetstone to the Archbishop of Canterbury.'[1] So the words were added, and added by authority of the Council, not of Parliament or Convocation. But as time pressed, the printing of the slip inserted was too hastily done, and in some cases copies went out without the 'black rubric,' as it was called. The completed book had a life of eight months, for the reign ended in July 1553, but there is ample proof to show that it found its way all over England in that short period of time, to say nothing of traces of its use as late as 1555.[2]

Almost coincident with the completion of the Prayer Book was the final drafting of a body of Articles. Cranmer had for some time designed a new series for the benefit of the clergy. As far back as 1549 he had required preachers applying for license to sign some formulary, and in 1551, when the new Prayer Book was complete, he conferred with the bishops, perhaps with the revisers, as to putting out a new issue under proper authority. After the dissolution of Parliament next year the embryo document was taken up again, and gradually fashioned,

[1] *Cf.* Dixon, iii. 485, for his real object.

[2] For its secret use in Mary's reign see Strype, 'Eccl. Mem.,' III. i. 329.

until towards the end of 1552 it was finished. The Forty-Two Articles were thus ready for the new Parliament and Convocation which met on March 1, 1553. At that date a Catechism, written by Ponet in the shape of a dialogue, was ready, and the two documents together were subscribed by the clergy 'for the pure conservation of the Gospel in our Church with one uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching.' Subscription was carried out in London and in the diocese of Canterbury, at all events, before the death of the young king in July.

The Forty-Two Articles carry upon them the inimitable impress of Cranmer, whose influence is readily seen, whether the article under examination be an adaptation or translation of some existing formulary, or whether it be newly-penned.[1] They exhibit in general the same spirit as the Prayer Book of 1552 on the crucial question of the sacraments, emphasising the reality of grace conferred by them, and denying them to be 'only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession.' Indeed, too much insistence cannot be laid upon the fact that what is generally known as Zwinglianism is conspicuously absent from the Prayer Book and Articles of 1552-3. For the rest, stress is laid (virtually in the language that we still find in the Articles) upon all the great fundamentals of the faith, and upon the chief controversial points of the day, as they had come into prominence in debate with Romanist or with extreme Protestant. A few articles in this series disappeared in Parker's revision of them, which was made ten years later. The most remarkable of these are

[1] For their sources and character see Hardwick's 'History of the Articles,' cap. v.; more briefly Dixon, iii. 513-526.

the 10th, on Grace; the 16th, on Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; and the last three, which were levelled against certain contemporary Anabaptist errors. The document was, in all probability, never sanctioned by Convocation during Edward's reign.[1]

Whilst the Articles were being subscribed, a plot, wholly indefensible, was being hatched under the guidance of Northumberland. By it the Succession was altered, professedly in the interests of the Reformation, but, as it is not hard to see, in the interests of Northumberland and his family. All he wanted to get out of the Church was money and influence, and for the past year he had been scheming to ensure these. Everything had been arranged with a view to building up his own power as Duke of Northumberland in the North of England; and the plan now secretly proposed was the succession of his own son as Prince Consort, and of Lady Jane Grey as Queen of England. It had been sadly obvious since the beginning of the year that the days of Edward were numbered. Accordingly the young king was persuaded that he had the power to will the throne, and with his narrow, obstinate conception of duty the boy was irritably anxious to secure what was known as the 'devise of the crown.' Judges and Privy Councillors were forced into the plot, and reluctantly gave in their adhesion. Cranmer, who was called last of all, stood out inflexibly at first, but at length

[1] Another interesting document of the period is the proposed revision of the Canon Law, which goes by the name 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.' It had been originally promised in 1534 and 1536 (Gee and Hardy, 197), but if attempted at all under Henry VIII. did not progress far until Cranmer completed the task in 1552. The zeal of Northumberland stepped in to prevent its sanction by Parliament. It again saw the light in 1571, but was then finally laid aside.

yielded to the boy's importunity. So the compact was made and kept secret until the end should come, which all saw to be at hand.

The brief and inglorious reign came to its close within a month of the conspiracy. Edward's last years exhibit a record of unprincipled pillage and plotting. The members of the Council, largely without religious sympathy or scruple, treated Church matters merely from the standpoint of their own profit. Northumberland helped on the radical school of reformers, not because he was a Puritan, but because their ascendency meant possibilities of pillage and plunder. Hence the confiscations of the period which alarmed all religious men. But the reformers left a mark upon the Church. Under their influence, the compromise of the First Book, in which Gardiner had seen much to approve, was swept away, and in its place a fresh compromise was put forward. This fresh compromise was no longer between the Old Learning and the New Learning, but between two schools of reformers—between Cranmer, Ridley, Ponet, and such men on the one hand, and Hooper, Traheron, Turner, Véron, Knox on the other. The result was the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., and with it the Forty-Two Articles and Ponet's Catechism.

CHAPTER XI

MARY'S FIRST ACT OF REPEAL

NO sooner had Edward VI. breathed his last, than the attempt was made to keep his death a secret, to seize Mary, and to inaugurate the nefarious plot which Northumberland had so carefully rehearsed. She escaped the toils, and her supporters at once rallied to her cause, whilst the conspirators proclaimed as Queen of England the Lady Jane Grey, great granddaughter of Henry VII. The disastrous plan passed over not only Mary, the legitimate Queen, but her sister Elizabeth and others of much nearer title than the Lady Jane. It was this unrighteous action which prevented any enthusiasm being manifested for Jane —this and the fact that men saw through the design of the hated Northumberland. Yet some believed that the cause of religion justified the diversion of the crown—'God's cause, which is the preferment of His word and fear of Papists' entrance'[1]—and that the best interests of foreign policy demanded it. On the one Sunday of Queen Jane's reign Ridley preached at St Paul's, and 'pressed the incommodities and inconveniences which might arise by receiving Mary for their Queen . . . that she would bring a foreign power to reign over the nation, and that she would subvert the true religion then established by the laws

[1] 'Chronicle of Queen Jane' (Camden Society), p. 6.

of the realm.' Next day Hooper[1] wrote to say that he was about to proceed on a new visitation 'that the affairs of the Church, if God should will it, may be amended.'[2] Meanwhile, Northumberland was marching with a force that never grew to meet the troops of the lawful Queen, and before many days were over Queen Mary was proclaimed, where Jane had been, and at last the voices of Englishmen were raised in a tempest of loyalty, whilst bonfires blazed all over the country.

The Emperor charged his ambassadors to bid Mary proceed gently, to respect all existing laws, and to wait for any real change until she had an opportunity of assembling Parliament. This advice she only partly respected. No one could complain when Ridley was imprisoned for his treasonable sermon, and perhaps no one could complain that the universities, which had suffered not only in the change of religion, but also in the social perplexities of the time, should be taken in hand at once, for the interests of learning were a sufficient excuse. But it was a foolish act to set up Bourne, her chaplain, to preach at Paul's Cross, who was indiscreet enough to provoke a tumult by an unwise allusion. Within a few days of this episode a general proclamation gave the first public announcement of the Queen's religious policy.[3] She would wish all her subjects to be of the old religion, yet till further order was taken no compulsion would be used. All irregular preaching was to be stopped, and no books were to be printed 'concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy.'

[1] Hooper did not, however, oppose Queen Mary's succession. See his life in the 'Dict. Nat. Biog.'

[2] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., Hatfield MSS., 125.

[3] See Gee and Hardy, p. 373.

In the main the order of Edward continued for the present, but no attempt was made to restrain the restoration of the old Latin services and ritual.

But a dismal lesson had to be given. Northumberland was executed, with others who had supported him. His abject confession on the scaffold did much to discredit the cause of the Reformation. Cranmer was not at once involved in his guilt. The idea was at first to pension him off, but an unwise challenge which he made, to defend the doctrine of the Holy Communion in Edward's Second Book against the Mass, could not escape notice. A debate upon this challenge in the Star Chamber led to a definite charge of treason, and he was conveyed to the Tower. A commission had been sitting to consider the cases of the bishops deprived under Edward, who now found their way back to their sees during August and September. The course of events had been anxiously followed by the foreign theologians and congregations in England. Peter Martyr was advised by Cranmer to anticipate deprivation, which he did by retiring to Strassburg, his example being followed by Alasco and many other refugees, to whom the Queen gave special letters of protection. Many of those who had been prominent in the Edwardine reformation fled likewise, sooner or later, to various places on the Continent, where the hospitality which England had shown to the foreign refugees was more than returned to English exiles both in Germany and Switzerland. To this important chapter in reformation history we shall return, but at this point it is sufficient to add that the exodus was gradual. No doubt a good many paid heed to the rumours of coming severity, and found it convenient to flee before the autumn, but

others had the courage to wait, and others like Jewel were as yet unable to go for lack of means or assurance of help so far from home.

A newly elected Parliament met at the beginning of October, and Mary, crowned with all the magnificence of the old ceremonial which the recent changes had not touched, opened its first session in person. The time-honoured Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung, and this, at a moment when neither law of uniformity had been repealed, was distinctly illegal. The opportunity which the Emperor had bidden her await was now come. Its procedure had been a matter of anxious discussion. Pope Julius at the end of July appointed Cardinal Pole, of the English blood royal, to leave his seclusion in Italy and repair to England as legate 'to bring back to the Lord's fold a most noble province which has been torn away from the body of the Christian name.' Pole, stirred from his inactive seclusion, wrote Mary a letter in which he lamented the origin and progress of the English schism, and pointed out that she was now called to the kingdom for such a time as this. And that represents the idea which the Queen had, the idea of a divine vocation to restore England to communion with Rome. Her conception of that communion was of an infinitely closer bond than had ever yet existed, of a devotion more humble and confident than the old times had witnessed. In her enthusiasm, as the vision glowed before her, she saw the consummation already achieved, and expected her first Parliament to undo forthwith all that stood in the way—the lengthy series of laws and ordinances piled up in the last twenty-four years.

These hopes were delusive. A brief preliminary

session debated the legal changes made under Edward VI., and fastened upon the rigour of certain Acts passed chiefly under the influence of Northumberland. It was designed to remove these, and an Act was speedily concluded which abolished such new-made treasons and penalties. Its preamble showed an excellent spirit in the profession it made of lenity, and of the Queen's desire to rule by love rather than fear. All concurred in such a statute, and blotted out the memory of Northumberland. The Court party, doubtless, considered that they had now paved the way for a summary Act of repeal. But as soon as steps were taken in this direction it became evident that two great barriers lay in the way: the one being the revival of the papal jurisdiction, and the other the restoration of the monastic and chantry lands. These were the insuperable obstacles to blotting out the work of the Reformation Parliament of Henry VIII. A lower road was attempted, when a bill was introduced which may be best characterised as framed to abolish the ecclesiastical legislation of the reign of Edward. Once more at a critical stage of English history we find ourselves without reports which would enable us to follow the course of the debate. Only the results are known. The bill spoke of the various things 'which we and our forefathers found in this Church of England to us left by the authority of the Catholic Church,' in place of which had been introduced 'new things imagined and set forth,' leading to 'numbers of diverse and strange opinions and diversities of sects.' In consequence of all this the bill proposed to repeal certain Acts, and to restore 'the divine service and administration of sacraments as were most commonly used in the last year of King Henry VIII.' Thus

Communion in both kinds, the Marriage of Clergy, the two Prayer Books of Edward VI., the prohibition of images, were abolished at one blow; whilst the old Latin services were to come back on December 20. An attempt was made to enforce uniformity of worship under penalty, as the Second Edwardine Act had already enforced it, but this fell through. The Act can only have been acceptable to the Court Party on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, for no reference was made to papal authority, and at best only the revived non-papal Catholicism of Henry's last year had been restored. Still more distasteful was the Act to the bishops in prison, to the men they had ordained, to a minority, but still a large minority, in the nation. Such men were conscientiously opposed to the old services, and, above all, to the Mass. Moreover, such clergymen as were married (they were not very numerous yet) found wives and families declared illegitimate without mercy or appeal. The first breath of persecution followed in an Act permitting constable or churchwardens the unwarrantable power of arresting any who might disturb the restored services.

In Convocation the clergy were given license under the Act of Henry VIII. to frame canons. The Articles and Catechism so recently published and set forth by letters patent were at once arraigned as declaring in epitome the doctrine established in the late reign. Here were the sacramental views of the reformers in their most complete expression, and in these lay the central point for attack. Moreover, the Edwardine Articles and Catechism purported to have received the sanction of Convocation, and Convocation was bound to repudiate them as untruly professing its endorsement. What follows illustrates again the con-

viction entertained by both sides that the doctrine of the Eucharist was the key to the whole position, the absolutely critical point. Accordingly, a full debate was arranged between the representatives of the old and new, and to this assembly the public were admitted. A report survives, and we are thus able to watch the disputants in their three days' encounter. However unsatisfactory it may have been, and such debates never were satisfactory, the end desired by Bonner, who presided over Convocation, was gained in the largely unanimous subscription in favour of Transubstantiation which was recorded by the members of the lower house before the public debate began. Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth alike promoted public sacramental debates,[1] but in no case can the spirit or result of the discussion have pleased those who proposed it.

Shortly after the session ended, a proclamation was issued announcing the restoration of the Latin services in conformity with the Repeal Act. Machyn, a citizen of London, who has left us a curious diary in which he records the public events of the period, says of this: there 'was a proclamation through London and all England that no man should sing no English service nor Communion after the 20th day of December, nor no priest that has a wife shall not minister nor say Mass; and that every parish to make an altar and to have a cross and staff, and all other things in all parishes all in Latin, as holy bread, holy water, as palms and ashes.'[2] We have followed the previous abolition of these things, and we are able to trace their restoration in the same impartial books of evidence which recorded their destruction. The accounts of the churchwardens

[1] See above, p. 142.

[2] Machyn's Diary (Camden Society), p. 50.

and others in various parts of England enumerate the various articles bought or given, the removal of the Edwardine Communion-table and the setting up of a stone altar with all the appliances for the old ritual. Thus at St Stephen's, Walbrook, Holy Communion ceased about 20th of November 1553, and at some time in the next few months, if not then, for only the year is specified, we find a note of sale of the Communion cup, followed by the purchase of a chalice and of a great quantity of Church goods, ornaments, etc., all, however, inferior in quality to those sold in 1550-1. The Communion-tables were sold, and the High Altar set up, and the next years witnessed further purchase of ornaments and the setting up of the Crucifix in the Rood Loft. The custom of watching the Sepulchre, the use of the Paschal Candle, and other things were resumed. At St Botolph's, Aldersgate, there were bought in 1553-4 antiphoners, manuals, and other books; a pyx, a crucifix, a holy water stock, cruets, censers, frankincense, copes. A sum was paid for lowering the procession-way in the churchyard. All these changes were made in this and other London churches as occasion served, and in 1554 the process was greatly quickened by the energy of Bishop Bonner in a visitation of the diocese of London. At Great Yarmouth, on the day of the restoration of the Latin service, it was ordered that the churchwardens should 'prepare all such things as pertain to the Mass.'[1] The restoration was at first marked by few demonstrations of opposition. No doubt the return was not ungrateful to many, and those who objected were held in check by the threats which had been made; by the Act already described; and by rumours of a marriage proposed

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., ix. (1) 315.

for the Queen with the Prince of Spain, son of the Emperor.

Meanwhile the case of Cranmer was exercising the minds of Queen and Council. His regular trial for treason began in November, and he was sentenced to death along with the Lady Jane, her husband, and his two brothers. Then came a period of waiting. So far as Cranmer was concerned, the difficulty was his orders. The death sentence could only be carried out after degradation, and as yet the power to degrade an archbishop did not legally exist, since the Pope's jurisdiction had not yet been restored. The condemned man made a dignified appeal to the Queen for his life, but Mary was little likely to forgive the insult to her mother and to herself in Cranmer's pronouncement of Katharine's divorce. For the present he was left a prisoner in the Tower.

The New Year, 1554, brought the opposition which the events of the previous five months had not succeeded in arousing. Its origin lay in the betrothal of Mary to Philip of Spain. A match for the Princess Mary had been frequently talked of in Henry's last years, but under Edward it passed out of thought. Whatever her own personal feelings may have been, Queen Mary recognised that it was her duty to marry, and to secure the Catholic succession. An English match with Courtenay, the new Earl of Devon, would have been popular, but the obvious foreign suitor was the heir to the Spanish crown, possibly the next Emperor too, the unimpeachably Catholic Philip. The betrothal took place secretly within four months of her accession, but it leaked out, and the rumour produced a petition from the Commons that she would marry an Englishman, a petition in which we may

probably trace the influence of the French Ambassador, who used all his arts of diplomacy to prevent the Spanish match. When the Spanish envoys arrived in wintry weather the street-boys of London snowballed them. Gardiner and others drew up the terms of a marriage treaty, which deserves more credit, so far as the Lord Chancellor is concerned, than he has usually received. He did his best as a patriot, and safeguarded the interests of England in every article, and expressly provided that, in the event of no heir being born, the connexion of Philip with England should not survive the death of Mary. The public announcement was made on January 14th, and was received with sullen resentment. Some were influenced by a prospective alliance with the greatest Catholic power of the day; others by the thought that England would become a dependency of Spain; but all men regarded Spain very differently from the way in which she had been regarded by Henry VII., or even by Henry VIII. at his accession. Secret negotiations, in which these various feelings influenced the agitators, had been in progress for some weeks, and a general rising had been planned for March. Small preludes to it were precipitated in Wales, in Warwickshire, and more particularly in Devonshire, where Courtenay's name was one to conjure with. Exeter was besieged for the second time in five years, but Carew, who headed the movement, was without the gifts that lead a successful rebellion. More serious was the aspect of affairs in Kent, where Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose name is often given to the rebellion as a whole, raised the county by calling on the men of Kent to prevent slavery to Spain. Thousands rallied to his standard and marched upon London, where Mary had won

many waverers by her undaunted attitude and her promise to abandon the match if Parliament really thought it inexpedient. And this march of Wyatt was the most nearly successful of all the Tudor insurrections, for he entered London, gained the city, and only lost his cause by a mistaken manœuvre in the overcrowded streets which hampered his movements and at last obliged him to surrender. Half political, and to some extent social too, these broken pieces of the great rising projected had more than a dash of religion mixed up with them: 'We mind only the restitution of God's word,' said Wyatt to a friend who appealed to him to restore 'the right religion.'

The rebellion gave excuse for increased severity to the Reform party, showing how the Government felt that religion was mixed up with it. There were even thoughts of putting Elizabeth to death for alleged complicity, but against the Edwardian bishops Mary soon took proceedings. Injunctions were furnished to the bishops generally, and commissions to deprive were issued against seven, not yet in prison, to whom it was presumed that the tone of these injunctions would be unpalatable. Two great inquiries were pressed upon them—the one concerning marriage, and the other concerning the dogma of Transubstantiation which Convocation had reasserted. On one or other horn of the dilemma, in some cases on both, the seven bishops were impaled. Hooper, Harley, Ferrar, Bird, Taylor, Bush, as well as Archbishop Holgate, were deprived; and on April 1, six bishops, nominated from the Continent by Pole, were consecrated. Other sees were already vacant, some by death, so that in sixteen sees altogether some change was made before Mary's first year ended.

Cranmer was still in the Tower, and, during the anxious months of rebellion with which 1554 opened, was allowed to remain there along with Ridley and Latimer. The three were permitted to confer together, and the subject of their constant discussion was the article reaffirmed by Ridley's successor in the See of London, who had gained from the representatives of the clergy a declaration in favour of Transubstantiation. Unwittingly they were preparing themselves for the next act. When a brief Parliament was called in April, Convocation selected certain of its members to undertake a debate with the three. It is difficult to see why Latimer, who was a preacher and not a theologian, was chosen in preference to Hooper ; but the choice turned out well, for in the weeks of mutual intercourse the three had reached great unanimity, whereas Hooper represented a different tradition. Accordingly, with much circumstance, the lists were prepared at Oxford, where a debate was arranged in the now restored university. Representatives of Oxford and Cambridge, all that were deepest in learning and ablest in disputation, were bidden to enter against the three bishops, two of whom were men of profound attainment in all the knowledge of the day. The proceedings were spread over four days, and the attempt was made to decide the issue by real weight of learning. The points taken up were those articles on the Eucharist affirmed in the late Convocation. A preliminary examination was held in the University Church, but the real debate took place on successive days in the Divinity School. As it proceeded, all the weakness of the medieval methods of disputing was apparent. The thrust and parry of opponent and respondent may be well

enough when the question is one of purely academic interest, but when both sides are conscious that the issue is vital, human passion and infirmity step in to spoil all. Cranmer has recorded his sense of this, and, indeed, the fact is obvious in the somewhat one-sided accounts of the debate which are left. Cranmer was not perhaps at his best—who could have been under the circumstances of long imprisonment, and inveterate prejudice on the part of judges and audience? Moreover, we must remember Cranmer's nervous and hesitating temperament. He was not overcome, though a false issue was raised by the Moderator, who objected to certain authorities cited; but, notwithstanding the brow-beating to which he was subjected, he stood to his point: 'The true Body of Christ is present to those that truly receive Him, but spiritually; it is taken after a spiritual sort. Christ is present by the grace and efficacy of His passion. I deny that He is present in bread, or that under the bread is His organical Body.' Ridley was more aggressive than Cranmer, and attacked rather than defended. Most pathetic was the position of old Bishop Latimer, whose powers were failing and whose memory was gone. He relied chiefly upon a protestation which he had written, and in this took his stand, for the most part, on the book of Cranmer, but his words displayed more than one flash of his old self in the daring wit that had delighted his audiences in earlier years. Eventually, when all three refused to subscribe the Articles, sentence was passed against them as heretics, and against all who took their part. For the present, however, they could not be executed, for the heresy laws had been abolished, and Parliament, actually sitting at this very moment, was rejecting a

proposal to make heresy a capital offence. Whilst the three were remitted to separate custody, the prisoners for religion in London drew up a manifesto in which they made profession of their belief, not only upon the articles debated at Oxford, but upon other questions in dispute between the old and the new. It was signed by Bishops Hooper, Ferrar, Taylor, and Coverdale, and, amongst others, by Rogers, who is generally allowed to be the Rogers, or Matthew, who is connected with the translation of the Bible. These men were not 'Hot Gospellers,' but persons of real learning, for the most part; and if they are somewhat more Zwinglian than the three great Cambridge bishops condemned at Oxford, the credit of their learning and of their defence of the Reformation should be allowed them.

Meanwhile great pains had been taken with Mary's second Parliament to secure the return of members who would forward her policy. It was actually called to ratify the treaty with Philip, to whom Mary had already been married by proxy, but religion was a main consideration all through. Gardiner made it clear that the Government considered the late risings to have been prompted by religion, and it was soon seen that his party on the Council intended to put down heresy, and to restore the penal laws. Bill after bill was discussed with this object in view, and a direct proposal to bring back the Six Articles Act was also made. But even this complaisant Parliament dared not yet bring back what Somerset had destroyed with universal approbation, and the bills were dropped. An important Act, however, was passed restoring the Palatinate jurisdiction of Durham which Northumberland had destroyed. Its real object was to place again on the North of

England an outpost against the Scots in case of invasion, yet opposition to the bill shows that the Commons still held that anti-clerical feeling which deprecated placing so large and irresponsible a power in the hands of a bishop.

If, however, Parliament refused to reinforce the Heresy Acts, many of the clergy were already in trouble by other means. Under the Injunctions issued to the bishops, as mentioned above, great insistence was laid upon the celibacy of the clergy, and the bishops were strictly enjoined to deprive all married clergymen. They were also bidden to supply any defect in the ordination of those who had been ordained under the Edwardine book. The offending clergy were cited by their diocesans, and it is estimated that one in five of the total number of clergy was deprived. All married incumbents were *ipso facto* removed from their cures, but if they chose to undergo divorce and submit to a public penance in church, with white robe and lighted candle, they were allowed to officiate, or to receive preferment, elsewhere. Considerable as must have been the suffering inflicted upon the families of the deprived, public opinion generally was in favour of the immemorial usage of the Church, and approved the enforcement of celibacy. These proceedings seem to have taken place in March and April 1554. The summer and early autumn were largely occupied by the new bishops in a rigid visitation of their dioceses, and by special commissioners in another visitation of the universities. If we may take the articles of Bonner for London as at all typical of the general character of such documents in this visitation, we may conclude that the main point was the punctual and exact observance of the old ritual. In

fact, the inquisition outwent the possibilities of poorer parishes, and Bonner found that he must allow more time for the restoration of the churches and services to the position under Henry VIII.

Philip of Spain reached England in July, and the full marriage ceremony was solemnised by Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral on St James's Day, the tutelary saint of Spain. Proclamation was made of the equal titles of the royal pair—'King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Castile, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and the Tyrol.' In August they passed on to London, where a magnificent entry in state took place, and the burdens of a vast array of carts carried to the Tower the magnificent offerings of gold and silver which the fleet of Spain had brought to Southampton. There is evidence that the valuable presents impressed the imagination of the people, and that Philip was anxious to make his money useful in propitiating persons of importance, but the rank and file cared nothing for the Spaniard. The same spirit which had urged the boys to snowball a Spanish retinue in the previous winter prompted the London roughs in the summer to pick quarrels with members of the bridegroom's train, and the young folk to mimic the haughty bearing of the Dons.

We have now reached the verge of Mary's third Parliament. The position at the moment was this: the *status quo* of Henry's last year had been restored, and the Edwardine Reform Acts had been abolished. The dogma of Transubstantiation had been reaffirmed. Reforming bishops and married clergy were deprived. Opposition had been silenced. But as yet the papal

jurisdiction was not brought back, and the attempt to revive the heresy laws was a failure. Even a complaisant Parliament had been unable to effect these two restorations. Mary was now married to Philip, and behind this alliance loomed the power of Spain and the vague uncertainties of the future. Pole was waiting to enter England as papal legate, but it was useless for him to attempt to come until the Pope was willing to confirm the present holders in their enjoyment of the monastic and chantry lands.

CHAPTER XII

MARY'S SECOND ACT OF REPEAL

THE See of Canterbury became vacant when Cranmer was condemned for treason. During the vacancy of the See the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, according to ancient custom, were guardians of the spiritualities of the See, and nominated to all vacant positions in the diocese, exercising such other functions of the Archbishop for his diocese as did not need a bishop, and providing for the due discharge of the episcopal office in the matter of ordinations, confirmations, and so on. Pole was in reserve to succeed him so soon as, on the one hand, Cranmer should be declared degraded by canon law from his archbishopric, and Pole, on the other hand, could effect his entry into the realm. For more than a year since his appointment as legate to England Pole had been waiting to come. Not only was there an old English feeling of long standing against the admission of a legate at all, but as yet the Roman jurisdiction was unrestored. Bowing to the inevitable, the Cardinal watched the course of affairs from various places on the Continent. He hoped that Mary's marriage would finally smoothe his way into England, and when still no sign was made, wrote to Philip in remonstrance, adding: 'Christ knocks in me, His vicar. Open the door, then; open, lest rains descend

and winds blow, and great be the fall of that house which does not admit Christ.' Much was said in his favour by those who met him in Germany and in France during the period of waiting. At last, with a new Parliament in prospect, a Parliament 'of the grave Catholic sort,' the King and Queen determined to invite him to come. If the law of the land was opposed to his entry as legate, he might still appear as cardinal, and in this character he prepared to come into the land after fifteen years of exile.

And what sort of man was the Cardinal who set out for England in November? His portrait is not prepossessing; but he was in poor health, and a restless energy had well-nigh worn out the bodily frame in which such hidden power was pent up. He was remembered as the opponent of Henry VIII., and as the dangerous politician who had brought England into such grave peril in earlier days. Report, however, spoke of him as one of the reforming band of cardinals who were already inaugurating an epoch of revived influence for the See of Rome, and it was a point in his favour that his name was associated with lenient action towards heretics. His learning was said to be considerable, whilst the prestige given by noble English birth and long descent was beyond question. He was obviously marked out for the work of reconciliation, and if promoted to be archbishop, no one was to be found better calculated by knowledge and by temperament to mediate between the rival schools of English religious thought. But all his qualifications for healing the schism would be as nothing if dispensation were not first made of the monastic and chantry lands now largely in lay holding. This necessity had been emphasised with great force

in the brief spring Parliament of 1554, when a bill had been actually introduced to ensure the undisturbed possession of all lands in lay possession. After much hesitation and reluctance the Pope agreed to sanction a dispensation to that effect, and the knowledge of this fact helped greatly to secure Pole unresisted passage to England.

The third Parliament of Queen Mary, and the first of Philip and Mary, began its session on 12th November. A document at Bolton Abbey shows the kind of pressure that was put upon members proposed. In this the Earl of Cumberland writes to a prospective burgess, 'trusting verily you will show yourself as all-catholic as conformable to the king's and queen's majesties' pleasure and their godly reformation.'[1] Such packing of Parliament prepares us for the contrast in tone to its predecessor. Its first business was to annul Pole's attainder, and to send up the bill for the royal assent forthwith. Letters patent were also prepared permitting the Cardinal to come into England as papal legate, and to exercise his functions—a direct violation of the statutes of Restraint of Appeals and of Papal Dispensations, which at the moment were unrepealed.[2] Armed with the two documents, the aged Bishop of Durham met Pole at Gravesend, and escorted him by river to Whitehall. The Cardinal's progress was a triumph. After a great reception by the King and Queen at Whitehall, he was housed splendidly at Lambeth, so lately the palace of Cranmer. But whilst he was resting there, Parliament, across the river, was significantly considering a bill to stop the seditious documents which were con-

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., iii. 37.

[2] *Cf.* Gee and Hardy, pp. 199 and 213.

stantly being placarded in the streets, and even on the palace gates, to the defamation of King and Queen. If these were the work of the reform party, they were in the worst possible taste; but, at any rate, they show the hatred against the Spaniards which had been springing up, and later on was to become a fixed tradition. Yet at Whitehall there was joy, for the Council issued on the 27th an order to sing the *Te Deum* in the churches as a solemn act of thanksgiving for the hopes which the Queen now entertained of an heir.[1] Next day the two houses of Parliament met in the great hall of the palace, and there, in the presence of the King and Queen, the Cardinal made a rather turgid oration on the object and circumstances of his mission, and professed the great clemency and goodness of the Holy Father to an apostate people. The Parliament—almost as much a nominee Parliament as the famous assembly of Cromwell a century later, and in no truer sense than that a representation of the people at large—debated on St Andrew's Eve the course of procedure. A committee of both houses was formed, and a petition to King and Queen was drawn up, in which, after humble protestation of repentance, they asked their intercession with the legate to effect reunion with the Church of Rome, pledging themselves to abolish all laws detrimental to the authority of the Apostolic See. Two members of Parliament alone opposed the address. Next day, being the Festival of St Andrew, the final reconciliation took place, when once more the two houses were assembled, the supplication was read, and Mary, speaking for all, begged the legate to pardon the realm. Upon this the Cardinal arose, and read aloud

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., ix. (1) 100.

a form of absolution, restoring the people of England 'to the unity of holy mother Church,' and absolving them 'from all heresy and schism, from all sentences, censures, and penalties.' On Advent Sunday a unique function was celebrated in St Paul's Cathedral. A vast concourse met the legate at the water-side, and conveyed him to the church, whilst all the trade-guilds walked in procession. Then the King and Queen came from Whitehall in state, and a solemn service of thanksgiving was performed, Gardiner preaching the sermon from the epistle for the day. The preacher retracted his own erroneous views, into which he had been betrayed in the days of schism, and in the course of his sermon mentioned one matter of historic interest when he asserted, of his own knowledge, that after the Pilgrimage of Grace Henry had thought of returning to the unity of the Church.

Parliament, called away from its law-making to take its part in these striking scenes, now returned to business. Convocation was included in a special and particular absolution by the legate at Lambeth. In the course of their debates they made two important petitions—the one for the confirmation of the abbey lands to their present holders, and the other a request for the re-enactment of the heresy laws. Both petitions bore fruit, for the first was incorporated in the long bill of repeal now being discussed in Parliament, and the other gave shape to the fiercest Act of its size on the Statute Book. To take the latter first: a bill was introduced into the Commons 'to revive three old acts for the punishment of heresies.'[1] By this, one Act of Richard II., one of Henry IV., and

[1] *Cf.* Gee and Hardy, p. 384.

one of Henry V. were revived—the original acts under which Lollards had been put to death, but which Somerset had abolished. Within one short week the bill passed through all its stages and became law. Its relation to the course of events should be remarked, for it is later than the reconciliation with Rome. It is therefore significant. The clergy were behind, and they proposed it, because with their knowledge of the country at large they were well aware that 'heresy' was rampant all over England, and would need sterner repression than the show of force which the rebellions of 1554 called out, more direct legislation than any Act yet passed under Mary.

But a double promise had to be redeemed: the pledge of Parliament to repeal all acts against the Roman jurisdiction, and the Pope's undertaking to confirm the monastic lands to their present holders. A vast bill was under long discussion throughout the session and in its ample embrace contained the two provisions in elaborate detail. Pole did not like the appearance of bargain presented by the bill, but his objections had to give way, and so the complete Act stands to-day as the record of an arrangement by which the papal power is restored at the price of the lands.[1] It begins by asserting that since Henry's twentieth year 'much false and erroneous doctrine has been taught, preached, and written,' but at last the See Apostolic had sent 'the Lord-Cardinal Pole, legate *de latere*, to call us home again into the right way from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed abroad.' Then, going back to the precedent set in some other Tudor acts, it takes the form of a petition and begs 'that we may as children repentant be received into the

[1] *Cf.* Gee and Hardy, p. 385.

bosom and unity of Christ's Church.' There follows direct repeal of all the great acts of the Reformation Parliament which in Henry's time had relaxed the papal grasp upon England. Thus parts of the Act against pluralities [1] were abrogated, the Act which began the whole crusade against Rome. After it in succession follow the acts dealing with Appeals, the Submission of the Clergy, the restraint of Annates, Ecclesiastical appointments, papal dispensations, the king's supremacy and so forth—all are deleted. Thus all the planks in the old constitution of Church and State which Henry had pulled down in the course of five years were put back in their original position in five weeks. But that was only half the effect of the Act. It went on to confirm the surrendered monastic property. First the petition of the clergy was recited in full, and was followed by the Cardinal's dispensation in answer to their prayer. All recent foundations of cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools were confirmed by him as well, the hope being expressed that all holders of Church property would make provision for the suitable and honourable maintenance of pastors, parsons and vicars. To this dispensation of the legate the Act gives full assent, and confirms in the possession of the lands all present and future holders who are or may be lawful owners of the same.

The reason given for the confirmation in the petition of the clergy was the peace and tranquillity of the realm and the unity of the Catholic Church. It may be questioned whether on the strict requirement of the Canon Law the Pope had the right to authorise the Cardinal to make this dispensation even on such grounds. Obviously the surrender was a matter of expediency,

[1] See p. 70.

and the price was not considered to be too severe for the restoration of the former relationship with Rome. But it should be noted that, whatever view is taken of the Pope's right to surrender the lands and to confirm what had been done, the confirmation was made on the petition of the clergy in Convocation by a specially accredited and authorised papal legate. So all that the Roman Church could do to sanction the transfer of the property was done. From this moment all who held the lands might continue to hold or to convey them with the fullest security. In much later days there has been a tendency to deplore the fate of sacrilege, and to note with satisfaction that God's blessing in long and happy tenure has never rested upon the holders of the abbey lands. This belief may or may not be true, but at all events the highest sanction known to the Roman Church was given 'to the possessors of these ecclesiastical goods,' and the whole nation as represented in Parliament endorsed it.[1] And yet how thoroughly the whole business was a matter of expediency is seen in what took place the very next year. A new Pope—Paul IV.—of more uncompromising spirit, issued a bull demanding restoration of all Church lands. It can scarcely be questioned that he thought of English holders, but Pole, measuring accurately the alarm in the minds of those concerned, prevailed upon the Pope to make in another bull express exception for England.[2]

We now come to the last and worst part of Mary's reign. Those three years and a half, with the record of their ferocity and their failure, all would gladly see deleted from English history. But they are an integral part of it with their misery and their moral. It is diffi-

[1] See Gee and Hardy, p. 401. [2] See Dixon, iv. 385.

cult to know what to insert and what to omit from the long narrative of persecution and suffering. The heroism of nearly three hundred who suffered for what they held to be truth is one of the most striking spectacles in all the long course of the centuries in England, and the unflinching testimony which they bore to convictions which were dearer to them than life calls aloud to an apathetic age to examine its own beliefs and to ask what is worth dying for, and what indeed were the actual verities for which the Marian martyrs were content to suffer an agonising death. The appalling character of the picture is heightened by the wretchedness of the time. The voice of objection and remonstrance was only silenced, if indeed it was silenced, by the stern repression of the law. Men were ready to rise in rebellion, and, when opportunity was given, more than one dangerous and difficult passage recalled the perils of Wyatt's ill-fated attempt. Plots were laid, and it was hinted that not a few of the greatest names in the kingdom were involved in these conspiracies in which French help was to be their support. An epidemic sickness, which we should now call influenza in its worst form, visited the country in 1557, and continued through the greater part of the next year, carrying off the people in hundreds, and bringing sorrow to nearly every household. Trade and agriculture were fearfully depressed, bad seasons contributing to the general ruin, whilst the heavy hand of taxation was felt by rich as well as by poor. Storms and tempests rarely paralleled for their destructiveness added vastly to the general feeling of misery, 'men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.' Political unrest, and a war with France ending in irretrievable disgrace, were circumstances

which clouded the more distant horizon. And always there is in the foreground the pathetic figure of the lonely Queen, watching and praying for the heir that never comes, yet clinging with desperate tenacity to the conviction that God has called her to the great task of accomplishing Catholic peace and unity, whilst disease is making fatal inroads upon her health and darkening all the prospect. What is there more tragic in history than the bigoted, deserted, and disappointed Mary Tudor?

But to take the years rather more in detail. The ominous heresy law was not meant to be *in terrorem*. It was to come into operation on January 20th 1555. Punctually to the day a commission was issued to Gardiner, with five other bishops and four laymen, to try the case of about a dozen men imprisoned for religion in London, mostly those who had presented the apology in the previous May. Some order of procedure had been drawn up, and this in general outline seems to have been followed in all the earlier examinations. They were first asked to acknowledge the restored unity of the Church, and to repudiate the Reformation of Edward VI., as conditions of the royal pardon. The two main points led to long and interesting discussions between the commissioners and the prisoners, from which it is possible to appreciate the position that they took. Thus the Catholic Church, the authority of the Pope, the meaning of schism, came up for consideration in connexion with the first; and with the second, the Prayer Book in English, and above all the question of the Presence in the Holy Communion. Round these momentous matters the whole course of examination and reply revolved, straying frequently into all manner

of side issues more or less immediately connected with the two main criteria. They were Catholic, they were no heretics, they maintained the Second Book of Edward, they denied Transubstantiation, they put the word of God before the judgments of men—such were the points made by most of those examined. Each prisoner was tried and heard separately, and was then condemned—for of all that were tried during all the long process few ever recanted—and after sentence passed, was degraded, if in orders, and sent to be burnt at the place where he was best known. The first actual victim was Rogers, who had so much to do (if the identification is correct) with the English Bible. After him came Hooper, and then Ferrar. Thus London, Gloucester, Carmarthen were the first places to see once more lighted the fires which Somerset had put out. It has been proved by tracing the course and locality of the persecution in this and the following years that the chief scenes were usually on the great roads that led to and from the coast, and the fact is probably no accident, but points to careful arrangement on the part of sheriffs and others who designed to make a signal example at those points, and so to deter others entering the kingdom by those same routes. As the fiery trial spread, it was for the most part confined to the home counties and East Anglia ; indeed, less than fifty cases are connected with other parts. But at first there was great reluctance in extending the early beginning of this persecution, so that justices were ordered to make more diligent search, and to map out their counties into districts that none who were suspected might escape to teach heresy or to abstain from their parish churches. Even the Marian bishops were not forward in the work of

hunting out heretics, and needed more than one sharp reminder from the King and Queen, who were really the impelling force behind the whole savage attack. All the way through it was Spanish and not English, a method familiar to those who knew what the Inquisition was, but abhorrent to the people of this country, and so abhorrent that Philip and his friars found it wise to counsel modified severity, though it seems clear that they approved the more cruel measures.

But the death-roll mounted steadily. The most notable victims in 1555 were Ridley and Latimer. They, with Cranmer, had been condemned for heresy more than a year before, but this condemnation was long ago, or else was considered defective, and it was determined to try them again. A long and weary process was begun with Cranmer, who had now been two years in prison. By the papal decision the new Bishop of Gloucester examined him, and sent a full report of his findings to Rome. Cranmer at this stage made a final appeal to King and Queen, in which he upheld the competence of the sovereign to hear and try his case without reference to Rome, an appeal which did him no service, if indeed it was ever read.[1] At Rome on November 20th a consistory court began to sit, and he was condemned, ordered to be degraded, and handed over to the secular arm for punishment. Meanwhile his two friends had met the flames rather more than a month before this sentence was delivered. They had been again subjected to a long examination held in the Divinity School, the method followed being very much the prescribed order already customary since its first use in the case of Hooper, Ferrar, and Rogers.

[1] Pollard's 'Cranmer,' p. 355.

Whilst men were still discussing the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, a new Parliament sat and was presided over by Gardiner as Chancellor, who even then was stricken by death. It was no less carefully packed than its predecessor, for Mary had a great scheme which she desired it to pass. The monastery lands in lay holding weighed like a heavy burden upon her conscience, and she wished to induce the Commons to act up to the very proper suggestion of Pole incorporated in the famous Act of Confirmation, by making at all events some return of tithes and other proceeds to the Church. It was a bad opportunity to seize, for the general outlook was gloomy, and the Commons were in no mood to be generous to the Church. At home the persecution was spreading resentment, and abroad the new Pope, Paul IV., was endangering the peace of Europe by siding ostentatiously with France against Spain. Philip had left England in July at the new call which came to him when his father Charles V. retired to a Spanish monastery and divided his own vast dominions. In this distribution there came to the King of England, already King of Naples, the sovereignty of Spain, of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, of the Free County of Burgundy, of the Duchy of Milan, and of the unlimited territory of the New World known vaguely as the Indies. So Philip sailed away to undertake this gigantic responsibility, and to weld his huge empire into a most Catholic realm, leaving his broken-hearted wife to pray for his return, and to pursue the vindictive persecution by which she thought to appease heaven. But he did not forget England, and in his new life of ceaseless business and activity found time

to receive reports from the Privy Council, and to offer suggestions in regard to many questions which came up for solution. The greatest difficulty for England was the prospect of war with France into which the papal policy of Paul IV. seemed likely to force her, as indeed it did in 1557. The Commons were too much occupied with the signs of the times to take up Mary's quixotic surrender, and all that she could do was to set them an excellent example which they never took, which indeed the owners of the surrendered lands have never yet taken, an example for which she deserves the highest credit, when she gave up the 'first-fruits, and tenths spiritual, and impropriations of benefices' in her hands. Her action is a worthy contrast to that of Elizabeth, who pillaged the Church lands for the replenishment of the exchequer and for her own private purse. Mary's surrender restored £60,000 a year to the clergy, who had been sadly impoverished in the changes of the time. In this work she was counselled and helped by Pole, who was a prudent administrator of Church property, and would have carried out his beneficent policy still further had life been spared.

In December an event took place, for which we must return to the thirteenth century to find a precedent, when Pole as papal legate continued Convocation as a Legatine Synod. An assembly of this kind, however advantageous it may be, represents the fullest exercise of papal monarchy, when the Pope, acting through his legate, gives laws to a national or provincial Church. The legate as such is superior to all archbishops and bishops of the country in question. This Synod is interesting because it represents what we may properly call the new Roman Catholic policy

of the papal Church as it was being formulated at the Council of Trent. The Roman Church had learnt much from the events of the century, and had become in a very true sense at this time a reformed Church. So we find in the canons of this Synod a broader and more liberal spirit. There was to be a revised New Testament in English, a Confession of Faith, a Book of Homilies; and a commencement was actually made in these matters. On the other hand, however, the old Canon Law (with all its fatal historical confusion) was to be restored, and a minute index of prohibited books was drawn up. The general principles of Pole's policy were set forth in a series of Constitutions which in some respects were admirable, and dealt mainly with the duties of the members of the Synod as regards residence, preaching, and the example of clerical life. A revised edition of this document was sent to Pope Paul IV.

Cranmer meanwhile drew up for the Pope a very different document in the shape of an appeal from himself to Paul IV., but it never got to its destination. The sentence of degradation reached England early in 1556, and was executed by Bonner and Thirlby; and so in prison at Oxford, a layman once more in the garb of a 'poor yeoman beadle,' the ex-Primate and Metropolitan of all England was handed over to the secular arm. A malevolence of indignation almost beyond credit was wreaked upon him in the long-continued attempt to urge him to recant his opinions. In all this there was no idea of sparing his life, but only of gaining a confession of error, and so of undoing the Reformation. It was material to get this recantation, if possible, since its moral effect would be potent. Effort after effort was made, and

at last he began to give way. Four documents were signed by him in which he somewhat abated the peremptory attitude of the appeal, until at last, under the strain of long pressure and solicitation, he fell as other men have fallen, as a Pope of Rome himself had once fallen, and signed an absolute recantation of his position. He forswore the Reformation; he asserted the Roman jurisdiction; he acknowledged the dogma of Transubstantiation; he declared his full belief in Seven Sacraments and the doctrine of Purgatory. An appendix was added later in which he professed the most contrite repentance for all that he had done. Then the order came for the papal sentence of death to take effect. It was presumed by the authorities that when the dread moment came he would repeat at the stake the confession which he had made. The day came, and in the University Church Cranmer made his last declaration, and to the consternation of all present he did that thing which had a more wide-reaching influence than anything in his previous life when he recanted his recantation: 'I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be.' And then the end came, where Ridley and Latimer had died five months before, in what is now Broad Street, outside Balliol College, Cranmer holding his right hand unflinchingly in the flame that it might burn first, for it had subscribed the recantation which he had now renounced and expiated.

Pole's excellent feeling in the circumstances of his own consecration must be noticed. He refused to occupy Cranmer's place as archbishop until Cranmer

was dead, and then he had the service performed with as much secrecy and as little pomp as possible. But the persecution did not cease, even if those who now suffered were a more humble band than their predecessors. Indeed, we now get an anticipation of the High Commission Court in an attempt to erect in London a supreme court to which those condemned by diocesan commissions might be referred. These diocesan commissions to the bishops were made peremptory, and the commissioners were directed to remit to London any suspected of heresy, or who had committed any kind of ecclesiastical offence. Bonner presided over this central court. The tide, indeed, ebbed and flowed. The high water-mark had been touched in the summer months of 1555, but the point reached a year later was nearly if not quite as high, and it only receded gradually until the very end of the reign, when five persons were burned at Canterbury, whilst in London Mary and Pole lay dying.

So we approach the close of the reign. Despite the difficulties of the time the old order of the Church had been widely restored, and much had been done to refurnish the desolated buildings. Various monasteries had been refounded. First the Greenwich friars came back in 1555, and other friaries followed at Southampton and in London. The noble house of nuns at Sion was repaired in the same year, and in 1556 the great Abbey of Westminster welcomed back its Benedictine monks, and at Sheen the stern Carthusians were reinstated. In 1557 work was commenced on the fabric at Glastonbury, and the Knights of St John were revived, whilst further proposals were under consideration. Yet it cannot be said that the laity

were eager in those depressed times to refound on a large scale, and the principal share in the new endowment came from Mary herself. But the gloom grew steadily. The year 1558 opened disastrously. England had at last been lured by Philip into a war with France, and Calais fell—the last of the English possessions on the Continent. Its fall was felt to be a national humiliation. It was a curious piece of irony that a cloud had recently descended upon the ecclesiastical world in England, where Pole was in disgrace with the Pope, nominally for his supposed unsoundness of doctrine, but really because the Pope took the French side in the policy of the day, and therefore resolved to supersede the Archbishop in his legateship. Mary espoused the cause of the discredited legate, and the recent excellent relations between England and Rome were strained once more to the utmost. It was no relief to reflect that Mary Stuart had at last become the bride of the French Dauphin, so strengthening the alliance between Scotland and France, who were both the foes of England. Sickened and disappointed at the course of events, Queen Mary's illness took a dangerous turn in the unwholesome autumn of 1558, and she died on 17th November, the Archbishop surviving her for one day only. It was a strange and pathetic fate that carried away the Queen and Cardinal at this juncture, but perhaps the happiest thing was that neither was spared to carry on alone the task which needed the other's help, or to witness the growing alienation of the people, and the visible failure of the work at which both had laboured so assiduously.

Thus, in the years with which this chapter deals, the work of Henry's Reformation Parliament was

expunged, and the state of affairs existing in 1529 was restored, yet with a difference, because the papal Church had learnt many things in the last thirty years. The policy was indited by Pole, first as legate, then as archbishop, and also by Mary. A packed Parliament restored Pole in blood, and he was then received as the representative of the nation into renewed union with Rome. Pole next remitted the monastery lands, and Parliament re-enacted the heresy laws, and passed the second Act of Repeal. This done, the needless persecution began, chiefly at Mary's instigation; but it overdid its purpose, for it burned into the hearts of Englishmen a fear and hatred of Rome which has never died out. The savage persecution went on, whilst the scene grew constantly more dismal as the miseries of the time combined to increase the general gloom. Pole followed Cranmer as Archbishop, and in many ways did good work, though he did not stop the persecution, which continued until the end of the reign.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE bonfires which blazed in London to greet the accession of Elizabeth were an expression of the general relief at the passing of the terror inspired by the religious persecution of Mary's last years. No sign of disloyalty greeted the new Queen at home, whilst abroad it was obviously impolitic for France or Spain to question her right and title to the throne until she should have declared herself in regard to the existing relationship between England and the Pope. Certainly Paul IV. made no move at present. What the new Queen's own religious sympathies were at the moment there is little evidence to determine. We must be on our guard, however, against drawing a picture of this young woman of twenty-five by the aid of such information concerning her religious attitude as comes before us later on in the reign when her naturally imperious temper found occasion to assert itself. All we can say is, that the circumstances of her parentage as well as her own predilections, so far as the event enables us to estimate them, would prompt her to restore the reformation which her brother's death broke off. And yet it is obvious that the external interests of crown and kingdom would have been most readily subserved by continuing the restored communion

between England and Rome at a moment when the Papacy was stronger and better than it had been for some generations, and when the power of France or Spain, or both together, could be easily invoked to punish a second interruption of the relations between the Crown of England and the Pope.

A tacit declaration of what was to come was made when, within a month of her arrival in London, Elizabeth altered the constitution of the Privy Council, that important piece of machinery by which the Tudors directed most of their home and foreign policy. Sir William Cecil became Principal Secretary, a position tantamount to that of Prime Minister in later days, and with him were associated such men as Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Earl of Bedford, Knollys, Parry, and Cave, who were all more or less in sympathy with the reformation under Edward. Whilst such men were added, twenty-three members of Mary's council were removed, comprising amongst others the Archbishop of York (Pole died the day after Mary), Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and others who would represent the policy of the late Queen. All the steps taken by the new Privy Council were kept strictly secret, but a memorandum drawn up by them, or for them, shows clearly enough to us who can now read this private document, that the Queen and her Council at once intended the 'alteration of religion,' as the old phrase ran, and also realised the dangers which would attend any change. Briefly, it was foreseen that to bring back the reformation would lead the Government into the most violent collision with the Pope, and with nearly all the nearer continental powers, whilst at home the hostility of the bishops and clergy now in office might lead to a pretence 'to do God a sacrifice in letting the altera-

tion, though it be with murder of Christian men or treason.' It was also clearly foreseen that whatever settlement might be made, it would be impossible to please all the reform party in everything.

Not a little of the interest of Elizabeth's reign lies in the record of the way in which the Queen and her Councillors realised to the full the difficulties to be encountered, and refusing to follow the line of least resistance met those difficulties, and carried out the policy upon which they embarked. But the story is also important because after more than three hundred years, whether well or ill, that settlement still forms the basis of the present relations between Church and State, of the present ceremonial and doctrine of the Church of England. It is to the reign of Elizabeth that we still have to look for the origin of Articles and Homilies as we have them to-day, and for an explanation of the perplexities which still surround the interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric. It will be well to describe, first of all, in its entire outline, the building up of the religious settlement during the first years of the reign, and then to trace the opposition which was directed against it from two distinct quarters—the Romanists and the Puritans—an opposition which the Council of Elizabeth expected long before they laid their hands to the work.

It was proposed to inaugurate the changes in the first Parliament of Elizabeth. The fact, however, was kept a profound secret, and it was publicly directed that no one was 'to attempt upon any pretence the breach, alteration, or change of any order of usage presently established within this our realm.' News, however, of the death of Mary had quickly found its way to the English reformers in exile, who began

speedily to return, and they, or others like them in London, proceeded to contravene this proclamation, so that at Christmas-time 1558 a second proclamation was issued, which prohibited all preaching and all change in Church services, with the exception of Gospel, Epistle, Commandments, and Litany in English. No doubt long and anxious deliberation was going on in preparation for the Parliament summoned to meet towards the end of January 1559. At some time or other, either before that date or else in the first half of February, the English Prayer Book and its changes were considered. It is often said that the Queen desired to restore the book of 1549, but the assertion is entirely destitute of contemporary proof. As we see by the event, the book of 1552 was chosen, and that alone appears as the basis of the revision, if we can call it the revision, of Elizabeth.

The great Parliament which began the 'alteration of religion' met in the last week of January, and sat until the 8th of May 1559. In that fateful period two great Acts were slowly hammered out which restored the best of those changes in Church and State fashioned under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but abolished by Parliament under Mary. There were other important Acts besides these two, but the Supremacy Act and the Uniformity Act are pre-eminent, the Jachin and Boaz standing in front of the whole edifice erected by the Councillors of the Queen. It is often objected that the whole settlement was made by Parliament, and that the result of it all was a parliamentary church erected by authority of Parliament, not merely without reference to the clergy in Convocation, but in direct opposition to their wishes and despite their protest. It is, of course, impossible

to deny the part played by Parliament in the manipulation of the Church under the Tudors. Mary herself had recourse to Parliament for not a few of the ecclesiastical changes which she made, and by special Acts of Parliament built up the Church of England as it existed in her reign. Her first act of repeal established the old feasts, the celibacy of the clergy, and the Latin services; whilst the second restored the jurisdiction of Rome in every particular. If Elizabeth's Church was parliamentary, so was that of Mary. In neither case, however, did Parliament itself compile the doctrine or ritual which the Act established. In both instances, under the circumstances of the time, an appeal to Parliament was the only possible means of effecting the particular settlement desired. If, however, State interference was fatal to the true character of the restoration, the objection goes too far. At the Norman conquest Saxon bishops and abbots were summarily ejected, and foreigners were put in their places, yet no one argues that such action was fatal to the continuity of the Church. If it be said that this was a change of persons and not of faith, reference may be made to an important episode of general Church history, which recounts how Theodosius the Great ensured the triumph of the Nicene Faith in the fourth century by a drastic policy of State interference. Yet few would be found to deplore the results of such action. Under Mary and Elizabeth the interference of Parliament was a temporary necessity. The Elizabethan statesmen recognised that this was so, and at the end of 1559 Cecil advised the Queen 'that the governance of the Church be better seen unto and established, and the State ecclesiastical duly placed, and the care of all things

thereto belonging remitted to the clergy, as in all your progenitors' times have been, preferring the credit and reputation thereof as in all commonwealths well ordered ought to be.' [1]

The foundation of the whole ecclesiastical legislation of the reign is to be found in the Supremacy Act. Its idea was not to make, but to bring back. It designed, therefore, to restore the Supremacy erected in the reign of Henry VIII., but in the shape in which the Act became law to restore it with a significant change. Whilst it was passed 'for the restoring and uniting to the imperial crown of this realm the ancient jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities to the same of right belonging,' it surrendered the unconstitutional claim of Henry and Edward which even Mary at first tolerated for herself, for it declared the sovereign to be 'supreme governor' rather than 'supreme head.' An authoritative explanation of the meaning of this supremacy was drawn up a little later on, and expressly stated that it intended no more than 'was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm.' But whatever gloss might be put upon the bill, it is evident that its course through Parliament was more troubled than had been that of any other constitutional measure of such importance. It made its first appearance soon after the beginning of the session, and that appearance was greeted with opposition deep and strenuous. The Commons were naturally more complaisant than the Lords, whose attendance was swelled by the constant presence of the bishops. The bill was reshaped more than once, and we have at least one speech delivered against it—a survival which is sufficiently noteworthy, as there

[1] 'S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' vii. 73.

was in those days no regular reporting of speeches made in Parliament. However, at last, after much recasting and many delays, the bill was passed at the end of April, a day after the Uniformity Act. Its general principle has been explained, and its details may be rapidly summed up.[1] First of all it repealed Mary's great Act of Repeal, and proceeded to revive ten important Acts of Henry VIII. which had been passed in and after 1532. These concerned mainly, but not entirely, the abolition of papal power. It revived the Act of Edward VI., which legalised Communion in both kinds. It repealed the Heresy Act which Mary had passed. It contained other important features : (1) it annexed to the Crown all ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; (2) it gave the Queen power to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; (3) it appointed an oath to be taken by various ranks of persons holding office in Church or State. In the sequel we shall see the operation of these three important enactments in the Supremacy Act.

The second great Act is the Uniformity Act, which, on the precedent of the Edwardine Statutes of 1549 and 1552, prescribed one uniform worship and ritual for the whole realm. We are in ignorance as to the precise steps taken in the consideration of the service to be adopted. It is probable that certain divines whose names had been mentioned in connexion with a proposed revision of the Prayer Book did indeed meet in January or February, and, as we should judge from the event, it was decided to restore the book of 1552 with three significant exceptions. Whether this decision was reached in a conference of the so-called revisers or only in the course of parliamentary

[1] Gee and Hardy, 'Documents,' p. 442.

debate is unknown. If the passage of the Supremacy Bill through Parliament was stormy, that of the Bill of Uniformity was tempestuous. There can be no doubt that in the Upper House the bishops and other members of the Old Learning appreciated the momentous crisis before them, and banded themselves together to wreck the bill by every constitutional means. What the debates had to decide was whether the old Latin services centring round the Mass should continue, or whether Parliament should restore simply, or with modifications, the reformation inaugurated in England during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. As Bishop Scott, one of the greatest disputants of the day, put it in his speech on behalf of the Old Learning: 'This doctrine and form of religion which this bill propoundeth to be abolished and taken away is that which our forefathers were born, brought up, and lived in . . . and that which we go about to establish and place, for it is lately brought in, allowed nowhere, nor put in practice but in this realm only; and that but a small time, and against the minds of all Catholic men.'[1] More particularly he pointed out that, as the maintainers of the Edwardine book allowed, there is no oblation, no real sacrifice, no consecration performed or intended in the proposed book. And yet, he says, 'the fautors thereof contend that it is most perfect according to Christ's institution and the order of the primitive Church.' The point at issue could not have been put more clearly, for it was a choice between Mass and Communion, between two interpretations of what was really primitive and really essential in the worship and doctrine of the Church. As we shall see, the battle of the future was to be

[1] Printed in Gee, 'Elizabethan Prayer Book,' p. 236.

waged upon the question which Bishop Scott so lucidly propounded. At the moment it is probable that his speech had great weight, for certainly when the voting took place the Prayer Book passed by the narrow majority of three only. From that day the Elizabethan apologists stood more and more upon the ground that the settlement of religion as set forth in the Prayer Book, and later in Homilies and Articles, was 'according to the true Word of God and agreeable to the doctrine of the primitive Church.' For the present it was directed that the book should come into general use on Midsummer Day, and for the first time in English history attendance at church on Sundays and holy days was made obligatory upon every person in the realm, under pain of Church censure, and a fine of one shilling to the poor for each absence. We may anticipate by saying that this latter rule of compulsory church attendance was imperfectly carried out, but it was always possible for churchwarden or justice of the peace to present and fine those who now came to be called recusants.

After Parliament was over, a further order was taken in the shape of a revised and much amplified edition of the Injunctions of 1547.[1] This appendix to the two Acts of Parliament sets forth in detail a variety of principles and practices to be observed 'for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition throughout all her highness's realms and dominions, and to plant true religion to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses.' It directs all clergy to accept the royal supremacy; to preach against the papal power, and

[1] Collated with the Injunctions of Edward VI., in Gee and Hardy, p. 417.

against images, relics, miracles; to preach regularly; to set up the Bible and Paraphrases of Erasmus in churches; to keep the parish registers; to give to the poor; to support exhibitioners. Precepts were also given as to various other observances, such as the Litany in church, rogations, the keeping of Sunday. It was further enjoined that 'they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition.' There follow directions as to providing a pulpit and an alms-chest; regulations concerning clerical marriage, clerical attire, and catechising children; prohibition of heresy, charms and witchcraft, images, religious disputation, unlicensed printing. The series finally concludes with (1) an explanation of the Supremacy oath, addressed to 'simple men deceived by malicious'; (2) directions as to tables in church, and the sacramental bread; and (3) the form of bidding prayers. It should be carefully noted that the Injunctions were to be read 'openly and deliberately' in church once every quarter. As this rule remained unrepealed through the long reign of Elizabeth, the influence of the Injunctions in perpetuating the principles of the Elizabethan settlement should be borne in mind, always supposing that the regulation was obeyed.

Midsummer Day was now at hand, when the restored *régime* was to come into operation. Let us recall the three characteristic features in that *régime* — the Supremacy, the Injunctions, and the Prayer Book. There is no particular difficulty as to Supremacy and Injunctions, but one of the most

difficult problems in English Church History confronts us in regard to the Elizabethan Prayer Book. The Act of Uniformity expressly asserted that the book to be used was the book of 1552, with three alterations only: (1) certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and (2) the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and (3) two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, *and none other or otherwise*.[1] But when the book was printed, the printed copies all contained not merely the three specified changes, but others as well. One of these is so contradictory to the whole history and tenor of Edward's Second Book, and so much opposed to the words of the Act in italics above, that many authorities regard them as illegal, though they do not undertake to explain how the words came to be incorporated in all printed editions of the Prayer Book in Elizabeth's reign. But the words in question are of far-reaching importance, for they constitute the Ornaments Rubric of 1559, which stood unchanged in the Prayer Book until 1662, when it received certain additions.[2] Briefly, the issue raised is: 'What are the legal ornaments of church and minister according to the Elizabethan settlement?' Now, inasmuch as we do not find any contemporary protest against the new Rubric of 1559, it is reasonable to suppose that some authority underlay the change introduced by this revolutionary order, and that authority, in all probability, was the Privy Council. It is, however, quite unnecessary to discuss at this point the actual legality of the new Rubric, or the nature of its ornaments, because it was ignored, or,

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 458.

[2] See 'Elizabethan Prayer Book,' p. 130.

at all events, was practically ignored, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and what it meant or prescribed was never seriously debated until the ritual controversies of the nineteenth century made it a burning question.

We see at once how completely the new Ornaments Rubric was ignored. Following again the precedent of King Edward's reign, a general visitation of England and Wales was ordered. The whole method employed on this occasion was precisely similar to that observed in 1547. We have a very clear idea of what took place, since a record survives for the province of York, from which we can follow the whole course of proceedings in the northern counties.[1] A summary form of oath was drawn up for subscription by the clergy during the visitation, and in this they undertook to 'acknowledge the restoring again of the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual to the Crown of the realm, and the abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same.' It can scarcely be supposed that the oath was palatable to the majority of the clergy, for Queen Mary had dispossessed a large proportion of those to whom the changes of Edward had been acceptable. And yet, despite all controversy on either side, which would magnify or minimise the number who stood out and refused the oath, it is a plain matter of history that the majority of the clergy took the oath, whether reluctantly or not we are unable to say certainly, but at all events the majority. Thus the three points of the Elizabethan settlement were impressed upon the clergy.

But let us see what the visitors did in regard to the Ornaments problem. Did they regulate the Ornaments of Church and minister according to the new Rubric of

[1] 'S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' vol. x.

1559, or according to that of 1552? In other words, did they contemplate the more or less ornate ceremonial which any interpretation of the 1559 Rubric demands, or the bare and scanty requirements of 1552? To this question there can be no doubtful answer, for the visitors contemplated quite strictly, so far as our records go, the Ornaments of 1552 and the principles of the Injunctions. An old diarist tells us how in London they destroyed 'all the roods and Maries and Johns, and many other of the Church goods, both copes, crosses, censers, altar cloths, rood cloths, books, banners and banner stays, wainscot, with much other gear.'[1] All over the country we can trace the destruction of the old stone altars which had been set up again under Mary, and the extensive record which we are able to reconstruct from the scattered notices goes to prove that the visitors practically cleared out, or at all events ordered to be cleared out, altars, vestments, roods, service-books, and all the apparatus of the old Latin services—such as candlesticks, canopies, censers, holy water stocks, paxes, pixes, sacring-bells, Easter sepulchres, and so forth.[2] We say advisedly 'ordered to be cleared out,' for so rapid was the visitation that many of these articles managed to escape for a long time, even if they were not used; and only by degrees were they completely destroyed at later visitations of bishops and archdeacons.

Thus the work of Mary was undone, and the churches assumed the bare aspect which those who had known and loved the former condition of things were perpetually deploring. The visitors who began the great work of purgation finished their part of the task

[1] Machyn's 'Diary' (Camden Society), pp. 207, 208.

[2] A summary in Gee, 'Elizabethan Prayer Book,' cap. iv.

at the end of October. Their place was taken by the permanent Court of High Commission, as it is popularly called, which sat in London, and undertook the cognizance of all ecclesiastical offences referred to it —offences against the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, or any other contravention of the settlement of religion. The original Commission of 1559, issued on the authority of the Supremacy Act, was renewed and altered several times during the reign. The early records of this tribunal have practically perished, but from about the year 1570 we can reconstruct an outline of its chief proceedings in the matter of Church jurisdiction. It is well known, of course, that the Court became exceedingly active at a later date in the days of Laud, who used it as one of the chief engines in his work. The Long Parliament destroyed it, and James II. illegally revived it for a brief period. It was, to all intents and purposes, the English Inquisition; and if its summary jurisdiction was sometimes beneficial, it became, not infrequently, an instrument of great tyranny.

It has been necessary to give in some detail the events of Elizabeth's first year, since that year saw the erection of the chief parts of the ecclesiastical machinery which was to work incessantly during the remainder of the reign. Now so far everything had been carried out in defiance of a protest which Convocation made in February, and in spite of the opposition of the bishops. All the latter—except Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff—refused the Oath of Supremacy outright. Several of the sees were already vacant through death, and of the surviving bishops all save Kitchin were deprived in the course of 1559 for their refusal. New bishops were nominated, but

owing to various circumstances, no consecration took place until about a week before Christmas 1559, when Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Cardinal Pole, who had now been dead for thirteen months. This consecration is of considerable importance, because it is the link between the old and the new. Parker could not hand on what he did not possess, and it becomes an interesting question as to whether he was validly consecrated or not. The whole question, which Rome has answered in the negative on more than one occasion, is too long and technical to argue here. It can only be said summarily that four bishops, who had been duly consecrated in earlier days, but were not at the moment in possession of sees — Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, Hodgkins — performed the ceremony; that the Edwardine ordinal used was a perfectly valid form in all essentials; that due and proper intention was expressed; that the record of the proceedings is ample, and the latter sufficient. Indeed, apart from nugatory difficulties manufactured by modern Romanists, the whole consecration of this seventy-first Archbishop of Canterbury was every whit as valid as that of Augustine, the first archbishop, nearly a thousand years before, and that on the strictest requirements of the case. Once consecrated, Parker, a good and able man, and an excellent administrator, set to work to carry out the great task entrusted to him, and did much to steer the Church through the difficulties of the following years. He consecrated other bishops in the next few months, and all the sees (some kept vacant by the Queen) were at last filled in 1561. Thus the reconstituted hierarchy was now complete, and forthwith took in

hand the many problems awaiting it. We shall see some of their difficulties farther on.

In view of the reassembling of the Council of Trent, Jewel, the new Bishop of Salisbury, was urged by Parker and Cecil to undertake a Defence of the Church of England as now reformed by the late proceedings. Hooker in later years spoke of Jewel as 'the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years.'[1] Of those available for the task no one was of more competent learning or more suitable temper. He became the acknowledged prophet of the Elizabethan Settlement, and seizing upon the strength of that position which, consciously or unconsciously, the maintainers of the Prayer Book and Injunctions had taken up, he defended the really primitive and Catholic character of the revived reformation of the Church. He desired to 'show it plain that God's Holy Gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive Church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left those men, or rather have returned to the Apostles and old Catholic Fathers.' The famous little book, done into excellent English by the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, was generally accepted as 'The Apology of the Church of England,'[2] and is so endorsed in the Canons of 1604.

Almost at the same time appeared a book of a very different character which appealed more widely than the scholarly Apology, and catching the popular imagination contributed its vivid force and pathos to the maintenance of the Settlement. John Foxe may

[1] Hooker, 'E. P.,' 2, 6, 4.

[2] Cheap Edition of the translation in Morley's Universal Library. (Routledge.)

be a strong Protestant partisan, but his 'Acts and Monuments' is a wonderful legacy of enthusiastic research. In this remarkable library he preserves all that he has been able to discover of the work and testimony of those who had suffered in the recent Marian persecution. With extraordinary confusion, indeed, he details all persecution inflicted by the power of Rome, whether in earlier times by heathen Roman emperors, or now by Christian Roman popes. The 'Book of Martyrs,'[1] as men called it, became an English classic, and perpetuated that hatred of Rome under Elizabeth which the fires of Smithfield under Mary first kindled. The book was widely read, was stamped with Church approval, and was even set up in churches.

Queen Elizabeth's second Parliament met in 1563. In view of the threatening aspect of the political horizon, it passed a strenuous new edition of the Supremacy Act with more vigorous penalties. The Convocation which sat concurrently with it has left an enduring mark upon the Church of England. Parker's idea at this time was to allow the Church to legislate for herself. He therefore sought out the strictest Convocation precedents for the new array of bishops and other members, and opened the proceedings with the words which expressed his desire: 'Behold the opportunity come for reforming the Church of England.' Various matters were discussed, but that which lay chiefly on his mind at the moment was a new and amplified issue of Articles of Religion for the Clergy. There can be no doubt that those who were beneficed or had been recently ordained were not, in the majority of cases, men of deep learning or

[1] Modern edition by George Townsend, 1827-1841.

wide reading. He designed, therefore, to draw up for their use a revised and expanded series of Articles to serve as a guide to the clergy in their own theological opinions, and in their public teaching and preaching. He took as his basis the Articles of Cranmer, which, by addition and subtraction at this stage, were ultimately reduced to thirty-eight in number. In 1571, after further consideration induced by the doctrinal vagaries of the intervening years, the Articles were again revised, and were put forth in their final shape to the number of thirty-nine. No general subscription had been enforced in 1563, but in 1571 a special Act was passed demanding subscription to the Articles from all clergymen on admission to a benefice. And if we may look on a few years farther still, we find that in 1583 Archbishop Whitgift extended subscription to all candidates for Ordination. In that year he issued a series of Articles for the clergy, and these directed that all such candidates should subscribe to (1) the Supremacy, (2) the Prayer Book, and (3) the Articles. His Ordinance was embodied in a canon of 1604, which still affects the clergy at Ordination. It need scarcely be pointed out that the Articles, which now began to be printed with the Prayer Book, are no part of that book.

The Convocation of 1563 republished the Homilies of Edward, to which had been added a Second Book drawn up in the early years of Elizabeth by the bishops newly consecrated.[1] The book had been expressly contemplated by the Injunctions, and served 'unpreaching ministers' for the discourse that was expected from them. The Articles of 1563 specially

[1] Corrie's edition, Cambridge Press; or the Oxford Press edition, 1859, edited by J. Griffiths, and with more information.

commended the homilies as 'necessary for these times.' The subjects of these twenty new treatises concerned the Right Use of the Church, Peril of Idolatry, Fasting, Gluttony and Drunkenness, Excess of Apparel, Prayer, etc., with special sermons for certain festivals. It may be said of them that the style is the sonorous ecclesiastical English which was perfected by the Elizabethan pupils of Cranmer. Those who listened week by week to these lengthy and ponderous periods in country churches can scarcely have followed with real profit the parade of learning which is characteristic of the homilies, yet the names of ancient authorities freely sprinkled over each discourse must have been intended to convey the impression that the whole weight of the Fathers was on the side of the Settlement and not on the side of Rome. At the same time numerous passages of considerable lucidity dealing with human sin, or explaining the reformed doctrine of the Church of England, can scarcely have failed to strike and impress even rustic listeners who at that time had no literature accessible to them, but were forced by the penal sections of the Prayer Book to attend their parish church, and by the preface to the Homilies to hear the Homilies or the Injunctions read Sunday by Sunday.

The same Convocation sanctioned two catechisms, both the work of Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor. He had already drawn up a longer and a shorter form, the latter in English and the former in Latin. The English treatise was based upon the familiar Prayer Book Catechism, which was still without the appendix on the sacraments added in 1604. It was designed not only for children, but for older persons

as well, and was even set as a task to be learnt by poorly furnished clergymen. The longer[1] catechism was intended for higher religious education at the universities. A shorter form of this appeared in 1572, in English.[2] The influence of these works of Nowell must be remembered as a fruitful element in the churchmanship wrought out through the lengthy reign of Elizabeth.

Thus Convocation rounded off the Elizabethan Settlement with a body of authorised teaching for the clergy, for the school, and for the congregation in church. A word must be added as to the general character of the doctrine so delivered. It is certainly the work of maturer thought than the Prayer Book and Articles of 1552. There is a recession from the Swiss influence of Edward's reign. In the Prayer Book it is significant that the two clauses of 1549 and 1552 are combined at the delivery of the elements. It cannot have been accidental that the Black Rubric of 1552 is dropped in the printed Communion Office in 1559.[3] A careful reading of the changes made in the sacramental Articles will probably convince the student that Canon Dixon is right when he says that 'the general effect . . . was to preserve the great mystery; to imply without defining the Presence; to heighten the Catholic tone of the Confession of England.'[4] Such a conclusion will be strengthened by comparing the Homily 'of the

[1] Ed. W. Jacobson, Oxford Press, 1835, or Parker Society, 1853.

[2] Ed. Prayer Book and Homily Society, 1851.

[3] It may be argued that the Black Rubric was not part of the legal Prayer Book of 1552, since it was added by order of the Privy Council. This being so, it did not reappear in 1559, when the book of 1552 was restored with certain specified exceptions.

[4] Dixon, v. 404.

worthy receiving of the sacrament,' and also the sacramental section in Nowell's Catechism. Yet this is far from saying that the Elizabethans reverted to the standard of 1549, or that they affirmed the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which Nowell distinctly repudiates. It is easy enough to tear passages from their context and to make the Elizabethan divines 'speak Canterbury or Geneva,' but their words must be taken as they are generally set forth in the authoritative documents to which reference has been made. It was Hooker's task at the end of the reign to defend the doctrine of these works as they stood, and it was left for Montague and Laud in the next century to introduce an altered view.

We have now completed the outline of the settlement of religion under Queen Elizabeth. She and her advisers deliberately chose to undo what Mary had restored. At first no change was made outwardly, but secret preparations were in progress during the winter of 1558-9, and then, when Parliament met, the two bills of supremacy and uniformity were introduced, and forced through both houses, in spite of universal clerical opposition. The Injunctions of Edward were revised and augmented. A general visitation demanded from the clergy subscription to the three points so far prominent—Supremacy, Prayer Book, Injunctions. Then the ecclesiastical commission began to sit—as a permanent tribunal to exercise general ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Meanwhile the Marian bishops were deprived, and their places taken by men newly consecrated. One of the new bishops, Jewel, wrote a defence of the settlement, but Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' proved a still more powerful

support. Finally, in 1563, synodal action was introduced once more, and a revised issue of the Articles, with important changes, was published, along with a new volume of Homilies, and certain catechisms. We shall now trace the fortunes of the settlement, and, in the course of the narrative, a few additions to the settlement, which events seemed to render necessary, will have to be mentioned.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ROMANIST ATTACK UPON THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION

IT is scarcely to be thought that the settlement, as we have now sketched it, was generally acceptable. At the very outset of the reign there were many who viewed with grave concern the probabilities of radical change. Yet there was no immediate echo in England of doubts, said to have been freely expressed in France, as to the legitimacy of the new Queen's title. No open hostility was expressed by any responsible persons for some weeks after the accession, and even then 'lewd words against her Majesty' were readily silenced. As the new religious policy began to be unfolded, the party of the old learning received the news sullenly, and then adopted an attitude of passive resistance. The full meaning of the changes was at once apparent, for the years that had passed made clear to every mind what was involved in the royal supremacy, and in the English service. Universal attendance at a liturgy which was distasteful to multitudes of people was forced upon all men, whoever they might be, under penalties which must have seemed insulting rather than injurious. The majority of the clergy took the oath, it is true, but it is not pretended that they took it readily or

heartily. Carefully weeded as they had been by Mary, their general sympathy must have been with the old rather than with the new. Their conformity, indeed, was deplored by some who had courage to refuse the oath, and no less a person than Cardinal Allen has described how some of them 'said Mass secretly and celebrated the heretical offices and Supper in public, thus becoming partakers on the same day of the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils.'[1] The same authority tells us that 'laymen who believed the Faith in their hearts, and heard Mass at home when they could, frequented the schismatical churches and ceremonies, some even communicating with them.' But the services were not popular, and the very first of the Elizabethan Homilies is witness, if any were needed, that people readily stayed away from church.

So things went on in the earliest years of the reign. When the Parliament of 1563 met, the Lord Keeper drew attention to the fact that 'so few come to service.' Up to this point passive resistance had been winked at, and comparatively few examples had been made of offenders, but it was now determined to draw the reins of discipline more tightly. With this object in view the 'Assurance of Supremacy' Act was passed, which provided a more elaborate machinery for sweeping up all instances of recalcitrance. A recent issue of the ecclesiastical commission tended in the same direction, for it was expressly directed that authority be given 'to inquire, search out, and correct all such as shall obstinately absent themselves from the divine service.' Thus reinforced, the authorities in Church and State set to work to put a stop to all private celebration of Mass, and to coerce reluctant

[1] 'Records of the English Catholics,' I. xxiii.

persons into conformity. No doubt their efforts met with a partial success, but such stern measures made those who favoured the old order feel increasingly that they represented a cause for which they were martyrs. At first they hoped for some speedy change, such as the death of the Queen, or her marriage to a foreign Romanist, or some other event which might bring back what they desired.

The Bishops had no easy task before them. We have in the State Papers a long series of letters and reports from them to Cecil and others. From these private documents we are able to see very clearly the difficulty they had in contending with Romanist reluctance or opposition. It is necessary, however, to quote their testimony fairly, for whilst on the one hand they describe a considerable amount of opposition, on the other they show that in some parts the hostility displayed was short-lived, or scarcely existed. Of necessity their accounts vary. The diocese of London was most in sympathy with the changes, for ever since the days of Bilney, the city had been the special home of reform doctrine. Distant dioceses, like Hereford and Durham, were naturally the most stubborn. A letter from the Bishop of Bangor in 1567 says: 'I have found since I came to this country images and altars standing in churches undefaced; lewd and indecent vigils and watches observed; much pilgrimage-going; many candles set up to the honour of saints; some relics yet carried about, and all the country full of beads and knots, besides divers other monuments of wilful serving of God.'[1] In Durham, Bishop Pilkington laments: 'For the nature of the people I would not have

[1] 'S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' xliv. 27.

thought there had been so froward a generation in this realm.'[1] The Hereford Chapter is described in 1561 as 'a very nursery of blasphemy, whoredom, pride, superstition and ignorance.'[2] On the other hand, we must give due weight to what is intended in the following extracts. The same Bishop of Hereford, who gave such a character to his cathedral, says: 'I have brought the country to conformity of the laws herein.'[3] The Dean of Durham states that the inhabitants 'begin to resort more diligently to the sermons and service,' and that in the county the people 'are very docile and willing to hear God's word.'[4] It must be remembered that such instances of conformity come from the least conformable districts. For other less reluctant districts with which he was familiar, Jewel's account is natural enough: 'The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part.'[5] Coercion or quiet persistence would have done their work sooner than they did, had not Romanist zeal left the paths of passive resistance and taken to methods infinitely more doubtful.

The first open resistance, however, vigorous as it may have been, fell short of these methods just alluded to. The long chapter of religious controversy was opened by the famous challenge of Jewel at St Paul's Cross in 1559, when he called upon any who could to prove the distinctive matters in debate by an appeal to the Scriptures, the Fathers, or the primitive Councils of the Church. The gauntlet was at once taken up, and Jewel found himself involved in a flood of controversy, from which he was scarcely ever able

[1] 'S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' xx. 25.
[2] *Ibid.*, xvii. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, xix. 24.
[4] 'Lansdowne MSS.,' vii. f. 24.
[5] 'Zurich Letters,' i. 30.

to extricate himself again. Cole, Harding, Dorman, Rastall—all entered the lists against him. It was out of these disputations that 'The Apology of the Church of England' was produced. But the chief armoury of controversial weapons was on the Continent. As in the previous reigns, so now, many who were discontented with the state of affairs retired into exile. Some of these exiles were men of considerable learning, for the list included names which became famous in the wordy warfare directed against England from their foreign refuges. In Belgium, the University of Louvain attracted such men as Harding, Jewel's chief antagonist; Sanders, who wrote a work called 'The English Schism' (until the days of Dodd, and later of Lingard, the accepted Romanist history of the Reformation in England); Stapleton, author of a variety of controversial works, which he compiled as professor of divinity in that university. Louvain, however, was only one centre—from Antwerp, Douai, Rome, and other places the increasing stream poured in. Careful note was taken of all these books as they appeared, and many of the best representatives of the English Church undertook to answer them.

Mutual jealousy and preoccupation with home affairs prevented the Romanist powers on the Continent from combining in any attack upon England. There was no idea of force for the first years of the reign, nor is it until 1563 that any rumour of secret plotting against the Queen is heard. Mary Stuart now began to be more and more the hope of those who secretly conferred together, and discussed the possibility of a revolution. The first plot was connected with the machinations of Goldwell, one of the extruded Marian bishops now at Rome, who was 'to be mean to the

Pope for his aid in these conspiracies with promise of restitution of religion within this realm of England for such his aid and help.' This correspondence was in part responsible for the increased severity to Romanists which dates from that year.

But the time was long, and Elizabeth did not die. Mary's flight to England in 1567 stirred anew the hopes of dynastic change, and her near presence roused the enthusiasm and stimulated the romantic feelings of very many Englishmen. In the north, particularly, signs of disaffection were noted in 1568, and Cecil was told that 'religion waxes cold and is going backward.'[1] At the end of the year Walsingham informs Cecil that designs are afoot for altering the religion of England, and placing Mary Queen of Scots on the throne.[2] So persistent was rumour that in the following June a treatise was drawn up on the subject of forming a general association in England for the defence of the Queen and religion. There can be no doubt that the plot miscarried.[3] By the mismanagement of its promoters, action was precipitated, and at the moment originally proposed for rising the whole plot was already smoking itself out. Help was expected from the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, but premature development prevented Alva from giving aid. Two north country noblemen, Northumberland and Westmoreland, were the chief plotters, and at an autumn shooting party they laid their designs. The idea was to march upon Tutbury, where Mary was in captivity, and marry her to Norfolk, the leading peer of the old party. Concentrating at Brancepeth, the Earl of Westmoreland's seat near Durham, troops of undisciplined north countrymen drilled and prepared.

[1] 'S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' Add., xiv. 17. [2] *Ibid.*, xlviii. 61. [3] *Ibid.*, li. 6.

They over-estimated their numbers and organisation; seized Durham and restored the old services; put back the altar stones; made men swear allegiance to 'the Queen' (obviously Mary), in whose name they issued a proclamation, and promised the restoration of the true religion. Under bad generalship, as it proved, the forces marched on, and all through the Palatinate of Durham were warmly received, and met no opposition. Then news was brought that Mary had removed to Coventry; time was wasted; they returned upon their track, and so gave opportunity to the royalist troops marching north under Sussex, and south from the borders under Sir Henry Percy. The rebels had seized Hartlepool as a post of communication with Alva and his troops, but no ships appeared. Worsted in the very first skirmish, the earls fled away towards Hexham, and this really formidable rising was virtually at an end. Sternly the rebellion was punished, and in parish churches for many a Sunday the newly written homily against Rebellion was read out to submissive congregations as a warning against any fresh enterprise.

Coincidently with the collapse of the Northern Rising a process was begun at Rome against Elizabeth,[1] in which her whole attitude towards the Pope was considered. Various exiles bore testimony to her supposed heresies and enormities. Then Pope Pius V. gave his declaratory sentence against her, and, in consideration of all that had been alleged, excom-

[1] The Trial was a mere matter of form. The bull had already been decided on. It should be remembered that the Pope had previously, in the spring of 1569, sent an emissary into England 'to make known to special persons that Elizabeth was to be deposed by a bull that was coming.' See Dixon, 'Church History,' vi. pp. 221-2. For the arrival of the bull see below.

municated her, and deprived her of her kingdom, absolving her people from their allegiance. The deed was as much a blunder as an injury. A definite choice was put before men. From this point the vigilance and activity of the authorities was redoubled, and the system of espionage which Cecil introduced and Walsingham continued was elaborated with extreme care. Next year another great scheme was unearthed by these means, when Ridolfi, the papal agent, was discovered to be fostering a plot with wide ramifications contemplating another rising to place Norfolk and Mary upon the throne. For some years the most anxious watch was set, and its constant attention was never relaxed. The Cecil papers at Hatfield House attest the activity and the constant reports of the spies who were in every country and every place.[1] The Council book shows what instant measures were taken when information was given as to secret assemblies or suspicious movements.[2] All sorts of prudential action was enforced. The commission of the peace was weeded of possibly dangerous men; fresh plans for crushing recusancy were suggested; revised lists of suspects were drawn up. But the danger continued, and rumours were constantly coming in as to opposition at home and schemes of invasion abroad.

Such reports were particularly rife in 1580, when a proclamation was issued 'against spreading seditious rumours of the approach of a Spanish fleet and a projected invasion of England by the Pope, the King of Spain, and others.'[3] In September an abortive

[1] See Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., iv. 214.
[2] 'Acts of P. C.,' vol. viii. 257.
[3] S. P. Dom., cxl. 18; S. P. Scotland, xxviii. 100.

attempt on Ireland, under Spanish auspices, actually took place, but the English stamped it out in blood. In the autumn there were anticipations of a descent upon England, or, if not that, of a general rising in England. So the unquiet days passed on. It may be well to glance over the next few years and to finish out this story of revolt, actual or proposed. Increased severity marked the year 1581 with a new penal Act, 'to retain the Queen's subjects in their allegiance.' As we shall see, Jesuits like Parsons and Campion were now actively at work fomenting rebellion in every direction. Fines, and even torture, were inflicted. 'Monastical life in the Abbey of the Marshalsea,' as one writer puts it, is a proverb for imprisonment on account of religion. And yet, when lists of prisoners occur (for many survive), the aggregate number of such prisoners is never very large. In 1583 political jealousy alone prevented a combination of Spain and France against England. More ruthless punishment than before was inflicted upon participators in the Throgmorton Plot, as it is generally called; and unjust if natural severity made example of treason by executing on this occasion some who had no real part in the design. In 1584, and again in 1585, new penal laws were added owing to the constantly increasing activity of foreign priests. Yet the authorities had no intention of pressing these laws to their full extent. It was always hoped that an exhibition of their ferocity would strike terror into the hearts of recusants. In 1586 the Government even proposed to substitute the payment of an annual indemnity in place of constant liability to fine and imprisonment. Many Romanists were willing to pay from £5 to £100

annually for such relief, but others indignantly rejected the proposal. The system might have been widely extended had it not been for the fatal impolicy of the Babington Plot in 1586, a design inspired by the constant idea that had possessed Romanists for the last twenty-three years—to make Mary Stuart Queen. But once more the sleepless spies of Walsingham triumphed, and the discovery brought not only Babington but, eventually, Mary herself to the scaffold. Then the King of Spain determined to hurl at last the vengeance so long planned and so often delayed. But lengthy preparations were necessary first, and it was not until the summer of 1588 that the invincible Armada sailed at last. It was a design in which the whole Roman Catholic world outside England sympathised, but in England Romanists in general had no sympathy with it, for despite thirty years' experience of the penal laws, they were not ready to prefer the mistaken policy of their co-religionists[1] to the independence of England.

Reference has been made to the part played by the Jesuits in fomenting plots against the Queen. The design of the Order at this time was to act as papal militia, and to lead the van of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. Their cause and their methods fascinated the minds of many Englishmen, who joined the Jesuits in order to do service in England, and after years of discipline abroad returned with the view of carrying out this object. They were first heard of in this country in 1580, when Campion and Parsons, two Jesuits of very different character, crossed the Channel and began to tour through the land in disguise. So marked was the effect of their

[1] See Law's 'Conflict of Jesuits and Seculars,' xviii.

secret work and inspiration that they were able to boast of 20,000 converts at the end of a year. But Campion, the more attractive personality, paid the penalty of his courage and devotion at the close of 1581. His intriguing and political comrade lived on for years to aid in every scheme that was afloat to restore the papal ascendency over England. Much of the severity already chronicled was specially called out by the efforts of such men, whose influence was so speedy and so widespread. The Act of 1581 was directed largely against them, and that of 1585 more specifically still. The latter Act spoke of their known intention 'to stir up and move sedition, rebellion, and open hostility . . . to the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm.' In the debate of 1581 the point at issue had been clearly indicated when a prominent statesman declared that the country had to choose between the Queen and the Pope, and that these priests were simply traitors. The Jesuits, however, were not very numerous in England in the sixteenth century, so that under Elizabeth the martyrs of the order were few. When Campion was executed, Parsons, a host in himself, was practically the representative of the society in England. Others, like Holt, Creighton, and Heywood laboured on, and organised the Jesuit Mission under large provinces which they called 'residences,' whose work continues to-day after various vicissitudes.

Those who suffered chiefly under the penal laws were the Seminarists.[1] Mention has been made of the controversial influence of Douai. There Cardinal Allen founded an English College in 1568, affiliated to the university. 'The English Cardinal,' as Romanists

[1] For the question of severity, see below, p. 254.

fondly called him, impressed by the fact that the Marian bishops were dying out, determined to provide a succession of priests who should be ready if a revolution of the wheel brought back what Elizabeth had abolished. He also designed to educate those whose parents were willing to entrust their boys to his care. Hence at Douai there arose an institution, part public school, and part theological college. Despite some troubles it flourished, and Allen's plan soon developed into training his priests as missionaries for the conversion of England. Slowly at first, but more rapidly as time went on, these secular clergy came over for their work. They, being more numerous than the Jesuits, gave the real trouble. Nearly all the penal Acts from 1581 had them in view. They worked with magnificent courage, and with a devotion worthy—may we not say?—of a better cause. 'I could reckon unto you,' said Allen to a friend, 'the miseries they suffer in night journeys in the worst weather that can be picked—peril of thieves, of waters, of watches, of false brethren; their close abode in chambers as in prison or dungeon, without fire and candle lest they give token to the enemy where they be; their often and sudden rising from their beds at midnight to avoid the diligent searches of heretics . . . and all to win the souls of their dearest countrymen.'[1] So Allen described his own Douai 'seminarists.' Other colleges, more or less similar, were founded, as at Rome in 1576 and at Valladolid in 1589. The Roman college furnished some of the first post-Reformation English Benedictines.

Thus the early passive resistance or sullen acquies-

[1] 'Records of the English Catholics,' I. xlv.

cence of the English Romanists, a phase which never passed away entirely, was succeeded by more active hostility. First a controversial war was opened, in which much learning was expended both on attack and defence. Next the person of Mary Queen of Scots became the centre of the ardent hopes of the Romanists, many of whom ventured all they had in the rising of 1569, whilst others were drawn into secret conspiracy against Elizabeth. The excommunication of the Queen forced men to take rank as patriots or as Protestants. Probably the vast majority of Romanists in England felt that act of the Pope to be a mistake, and were not prepared to sacrifice their patriotism to what was demanded of them. Yet, in the years that followed, the influence of seminary priests swelled their ranks, whilst the intrigues of the Jesuits involved leading Romanists in fresh plots against the throne. At length the supreme effort of the Armada was launched by Spain, and its failure was greeted with real satisfaction by English Romanists as a whole.

CHAPTER XV

THE PURITANS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION

THE persecution of Mary's last years did not succeed in suppressing all sympathy with the Reformation. Many of the large number of clergymen whom she deprived of their benefices must have been still living in England when her sister came to the throne. It is impossible to suppose that the considerable proportion of laity who had welcomed the changes under Edward had abandoned their convictions. Such persons were biding their time whilst Mary reigned. It is not easy to analyse their views, but it is probable that not a few of them were extreme reformers. The document already quoted as indicating the policy of Cecil and his friends, contemplates their existence, and considers that they will regard the 'alteration of religion' as 'a cloaked papistry or mingle-mangle.' They were recruited by the exiles, who returned to the number of three hundred, it is said, from their refuges in Germany and Switzerland. These men desired to make their voice heard and to press for such changes as were acceptable to them.

We must bear in mind, then, the existence of a large body of reform sympathy at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and we must recollect that it contained various elements. There were extreme reformers and there were men not so extreme. There were English

Protestants who had never been outside England, and there were others who regarded the Swiss reformation as the type of all that was perfect in doctrine and organisation. But whatever their desires, the policy of 1559 was carried out without consulting these extremists, and they nursed their grievances as quietly as they could. It seems reasonable to believe that a good many men of this type were ordained in the early years of the reign. The changes of the time had produced a large number of vacancies in benefices for which new appointments were necessary. Those who had passed through the universities in Mary's reign were not men likely to be acceptable to the Elizabethan bishops, nor were the English Ordinal and Prayer Book likely to be acceptable to them. Large ordinations were held, and the only available candidates must have come from the number of those to whom the religious changes in progress were satisfactory. It is to these men, mostly young and ardent, that we must look for the beginnings of Puritanism among the Elizabethan clergy. And we shall not be far wrong in ascribing its spread very largely to such men as Sampson, Humphrey, Lever, and others who had lived in exile, and now became leaders of great weight amongst the clergy in England. It was from the diocese of London, with its large share of those in orders, that the influence of these men radiated. Whatever their scruples at first, they did not ventilate them loudly, but 'complied for the present in hope of the removal of these grievances in more settled times.'[1] Certainly there was no outward secession at first.

The gathering storm burst in the Convocation of 1563 (otherwise notable for the Articles it passed), when a deliberate attempt was made to reopen the

[1] Neal (Toulmin), 'History of the Puritans,' i. 134.

whole of the settlement on its ceremonial side. The Lord Keeper had said at the opening of Parliament that 'ceremonies are agreed upon, but the right ornaments thereof are either left undone or forgotten.' The Lower House thereupon took up the question of ceremonial, and a compact body of thirty-three members pressed for doing away with the surplice even. Others, less extreme, made suggestions as to the removal of various points sanctioned by the Prayer Book, and desired that no other vestment than the surplice should be required. By the barest possible majority, however, the settlement was left intact. Its narrow escape points to the wide spread of dissatisfaction amongst the clergy at that time. Defeat rankled in the bosoms of not a few members of the Canterbury Convocation, mostly Londoners. The prevalence of the plague during the greater part of 1563 prevented concerted action on their part. A year passed, and then a letter of Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, shows us that the dissentients had not changed their minds. There is some proof of correspondence and propagandism on the part of the Puritan leaders. We hear of clerical meetings, known as 'prophesyings' in 1564, which rather later on were suppressed by the Queen's intervention owing to their partisan character. In December a conference was held between Parker and some of the more prominent agitators, from which it appears that some, at all events, objected not merely to the surplice, but to any distinctive clerical out-door dress, as prescribed by the Injunctions. Discontent was increasing. As far away as Durham, Pilkington was spreading scruples, reinforced by the Dean Whittingham, a strict Calvinist, and for a year probably by John Foxe the martyrologist, who held a prebend

in the Cathedral. At the end of 1565 a number of students at Cambridge rebelled against the use of the surplice in the College Chapel.

At this stage the grievance was mainly but not entirely the use of the surplice. The Queen was irritated by what she heard of the agitation, and soon after Parker's conference with the leaders, desired the bishops to conduct investigation into the general state of conformity in their dioceses. A paper return has been preserved which reflects the wide variety of usage, not only as regards clerical dress within and without the Church, but as regards the administration of the sacraments and the conduct of the services. After some delay, and by authority which has been warmly debated, the celebrated 'Advertisements' were issued. They were a miscellaneous document set out in the interests of unity of doctrine and uniformity of service and apparel. Articles follow: 'For doctrine and preaching, for administration of prayer and sacraments, for certain orders in ecclesiastical policy, for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical.' In regard to the main point in dispute, the Advertisements prescribed the use of a 'comely surplice with sleeves' in all ordinary parish churches, but in cathedral and collegiate churches 'in the ministration of the Holy Communion the principal minister shall use a cope, with Gospeller and Epistler agreeably.'[1] Specific directions were also given as to ordinary dress. The order as to the surplice, and the surplice and cope, was repeated in the Canons of 1604, and has figured largely in ritual controversy.[2] As to the relation of this order

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 470.

[2] The point of recent controversy is whether the Canon of 1604 or the Ornaments Rubric of 1662 is to bind the clergyman in church at the pre-

to the Ornaments Rubric, there has been hot debating. Some students of the period consider that the direction enjoined a minimum of ritual on those who were unwilling to follow the ordinance of the Rubric in its entirety. Others, who point out that the Rubric never had been obeyed, regard the Advertisements as an increase of ceremonial, in that it directed the cope in cathedral churches, whereas the strictly legal Rubric of 1552 spoke of the surplice only. But on one point there can be no dispute. The Advertisements were used as a test for the dissatisfied clergy, and a large number were deprived who refused to use the surplice. Some of these were excellent men, and the list even includes the name of Coverdale, who had so much to do with the translation of the Bible, and had been one of the consecrators of Parker.

The stern measures meted out to the Puritans cannot commend themselves to the modern reader, but the previous chapter, with its display of a united and untiring Romanist campaign, shows clearly how the danger from Rome was such a peril to a divided Church that uniformity would have to be enforced at all hazards. Yet its enforcement met with imperfect success, and the Puritan opposition increased.[1] In

sent day. Is he, according to the Canon, to use a surplice only (in cathedrals and collegiate churches at the Holy Communion a cope) with a hood, or is he to wear the vestments of Edward's second year (presumably those enjoined by the Book of 1549, see p. 145), according to the Rubric? In other words, does the Rubric override the Canon? But there is a further complication. The Prayer Book of 1662, which is later than the Canons, reprints the Elizabethan Uniformity Act as of statutory authority. Does that Act prescribe the vestments of 1549, or those of 1552? At its commencement the use of 1552 is undoubtedly prescribed. At its conclusion a case may be made out for 1549, unless the Advertisements were a taking of further order.

[1] Neal, i. 188, justifies the Puritans.

the Parliament of 1571, despite the victory of the Primate's party in carrying what we may call the Subscription Bill, a fierce fight was maintained in the Commons, with a view to gaining further concessions. Next year some of the London Puritans showed how things were tending when they published the Admonition to Parliament.[1] It was soon followed by a second admonition, the writer in this case being the learned and able Thomas Cartwright, who now became the accepted leader of the malcontents. In these documents the Puritans showed quite clearly what they now wanted, and that was the Presbyterianism of Geneva, pure and simple. In other words, they recommended Parliament to substitute for the Elizabethan settlement[2] a full-blown Presbyterian establishment. Whitgift, master of Trinity, became the champion of the Church of England, and Cartwright of Presbyterianism. In their writings we find the whole case as it now stood. The Church of England appealed to the primitive Church — to the really primitive Church let them go, rejoined Cartwright, and find in the New Testament, not the system of Canterbury, but the platform of Geneva. Repression went on ruthlessly. Grindal, successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and of Canterbury, sympathised at heart with the Puritans, and was only goaded into action by royal imperiousness. When Cartwright's opponent succeeded Grindal as Primate in 1583, Whitgift carried on the policy of repression, with every help that civil and ecclesiastical law gave him. About 1580 the Puritans had worked out the principles of

[1] Edited by Bp. Collins, S.P.C.K.

[2] 13 Eliz., c. 12. An Act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the Church. See Gee and Hardy, p. 477.

the Admonitions in a document which they called the Book of the Holy Discipline. It was a complete scheme of Presbyterian organisation and discipline. In 1584 this famous book was introduced into Parliament, and the deliberate attempt was made to establish on its lines a Presbyterian Church of England in place of that by law established. Further and determined endeavour was again made in 1587, but was frustrated by the Queen's intervention. So failed the great attempt to Presbyterianise the Church of England; it was reserved for the Long Parliament to succeed for a few years where their predecessors had failed sixty years before. It was in part this failure, and in part the effort to vent the gathering venom of disappointment, which led to the publication of a series of scurrilous attacks upon the Church of England, generally known as the Marprelate libels.[1]

Some time before the Marprelate libels signalised the failure of the Presbyterian Puritans in Parliament, a small body of these men adopted the only logical position by separating entirely from the Church of England. They established a conventicle at Wandsworth in 1572, in direct contravention of the Act of Uniformity. But in this action they had been anticipated four years previously by what is virtually the first Independent congregation in England. Its leader was a man called Fitz, and his principle is to be found in his interpretation of the text, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' Here he and his friends found what they considered to be an unimpeachable warrant for proceeding without Church establishment, and

[1] These extraordinary and virulent attacks are described in W. Maskell's 'Martin Marprelate Controversy.'

certainly without bishops. Before long others conceived the same idea, and one Robert Browne, a man of bold but ill-balanced powers, undertook the defence of this central principle in a book called 'Reformation without tarrying for any,'[1] in which he exhorted the Puritan ministers to come out and be separate, and no longer to bide their time. Browne himself was a fickle character, and returned to the Church of England, but he gave his name to the Brownists, which was the early appellation of those afterwards called Independents. They had no quarrel with the Presbyterians on questions of doctrine, but only on their governing principle of the right of any two or three to form a congregation, and to compose a separate body. These 'gathered congregations,' as they loved to call themselves, seem to have multiplied rapidly, and to have experienced the same remorseless opposition which the Presbyterians encountered. As we shall see, there were early martyrs to the cause of Independency.

But Presbyterianism and Independency were not the only types of Nonconformity under Elizabeth. At the beginning of her reign the Council had been advised to deal severely with 'Anabaptists and Arians.' Whether native or immigrant, the Anabaptists seem to have been a danger as early as her second year, when a proclamation was issued against their opinions and the Ecclesiastical Commission was set in motion against them. As time went on, and the Spanish fury in the Netherlands under Alva brought in fresh refugees to the hospitable shores of England, the foreign congregations were put under increasingly

[1] For the rise of Independency, see R. W. Dale's 'History of English Congregationalism.'

strict surveillance. Doubtless the views of those included under the wide term Anabaptists varied considerably. That some were regarded as dangerous to State and to religion is clear enough, when in 1574 the Privy Council took notice of them, and next year, despite the remonstrance of Foxe, the fires of Smithfield were again lighted by Elizabeth, and two of these unfortunate persons were burnt, although Elizabeth had repealed the heresy laws. Purged from their more extravagant notions, the Anabaptists reappeared during the next century in England as a considerable force in some of the larger towns. They still clung to their fundamental idea of being baptised afresh, but in other respects differed very little from the rest of the Puritans. It is a far cry, however, from the distempered Anabaptists of Elizabeth's days to the more moderate Baptists of the seventeenth century. Under Elizabeth horror attached to the very name Anabaptist, and little discrimination was employed in distinguishing the divergent groups gathered under the general title. It is probable that the same lack of discrimination has handed down to continuous reprobation the Family of Love, a sect of the Anabaptists, who seem to have been branded with infamy for tenets which few of them, if any, really held.

Thus, through various stages, we trace the origin of English Nonconformity. All the separatism of the earliest years of Elizabeth seems to have been confined to immigrants from abroad. Meanwhile Puritanism began amongst those, whether clergy or laity, who were in sympathy with the Swiss Reformation. Unable to make their voice heard until the Convocation of 1563, these 'germanical natures,' as Parker called them, took opportunity to overthrow

the ritual and ceremonial settlement. This they attempted in a perfectly constitutional way, but they were defeated. A growing reluctance to use the clerical dress and vesture now spread amongst the clergy, and a fierce struggle took place between these Nonconformists and the authorities in Church aud State. The vestiarian controversy soon gave way to an attempt to substitute Presbyterianism for the Ecclesiastical Settlement. This effort also ended in failure, but only after a series of years. Meanwhile a third stage was reached when separation began, despite the uniformity prescribed by law. First Independents, then Presbyterians began to form congregations and to develop a corporate existence of their own outside the Church of England, notwithstanding the remorseless repression of the authorities.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH

THE previous chapters have brought us to the period of the Armada and the consequent lull in the militant Catholicism of Spain. Church history up to that point in Elizabeth's reign presents us with a rather dreary record. Churchmen of the period are not particularly attractive, and the whole chronicle appears to be one of vigorous and unrelenting repression of all hostility towards a *régime* which was only maintained by constant vigilance and incessant legislation. Yet in that controversial atmosphere of embittered religious feeling England prospered exceedingly. It was all very well for Romanist or for Nonconformist to cry aloud to heaven and to invoke God's vengeance upon the severity of the penal laws, but what struck the average Englishman, after the great national victory of 1588, was the extraordinary success which had attended the Government. When Elizabeth began her reign thick clouds hemmed her in on every side, and now after thirty years the sun of prosperity was shining upon a vigorous and united England. Men delighted to look back and see how things had been a generation before,[1]

[1] The gloomy view taken at the beginning of the reign is illustrated in a document of Elizabeth's first year, describing 'the distresses of the Commonwealth with the means to remedy them' ('S. P. Dom. Eliz.,' i. 66; printed in Gee, 'Elizabethan Prayer Book,' p. 206). The poverty of the Queen; the penury of noblemen and their poverty; the wealth of the

and then to contrast with perils at home and abroad during those earlier days the greater stability and confidence that all now felt. The result was that the nation began to realise its destiny, and to regard present success and future promise as a complete vindication of the policy which the great statesmen of the Queen had followed. A flood of loyalty and enthusiasm broke over the kingdom.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that peace and quietness reigned supreme during the last years of Elizabeth. Indeed, the struggle with Spain was not over, for religious jealousy and national resentment, stimulated by a growing commercial rivalry between Englishmen and Spaniards, kept up a constant fume which more than once burst out into open war. France, too, after a long period of distraction, was beginning to recover: and with the passing of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, entered upon an era of growing unity and rapidly advancing prosperity which might one day shape her into a distinct menace towards England. At home the religious dissensions, so characteristic of the times, never died out, and the strife with Romanist, Nonconformist, and Separatist slackened not, or if there is any appreciable pause, it is only for a brief interval.

The position of Romanists under the penal laws of 1559, 1563, 1571, 1585, when those laws were pressed, was strait indeed. £20 a month (about £2000 per annum of modern money) might be exacted for absence from church services. A year's imprisonment and a

---

meaner sort; the dearth of things; the divisions within the realm; the wars; want of justice—such are the causes described by the writer. It may be said generally that all except 'divisions within the realm' had disappeared in 1588.

fine of 100 marks were the penalty of hearing Mass. A traitor's death awaited those who brought in 'bulls and other instruments from the See of Rome.'[1] But such laws were defied, and Romanist zeal continued without abatement, so that in 1593 the culmination of anti-papal laws was reached when a fresh Act was passed which 'restrained' Romanists within a radius of five miles from 'their place of dwelling where they usually heretofore made their common abode.'[2] Those who could not pay the monthly fine were by this Act to abjure the realm. Even so, the efforts of Romanism were not paralysed. Next year Lopez, the Queen's physician, tried to poison her; and this was only one of several plots which marked these years. Priest-hunting, and searching for recusants went on until the end of the reign. It is said that under the Act 13 Eliz., c. 2, sixty-one priests, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlemen were executed between 1588 and 1603. Was such desperate cruelty deserved? Let one of the secular priests answer, who was at last himself put to death for conspiracy by James I.[3] He says of the calamities and troubles that fell upon his co-religionists, that they were 'far less, we think, than any prince living in her Majesty's case and so provoked would have inflicted upon us.'[4] Elsewhere the same writer says: 'It cannot be denied but that for the first ten years of her Majesty's reign the state of Catholics in England was tolerable, and after some good quietness. Such as for their consciences were imprisoned in the beginning of her coming to the Crown were very kindly and mercifully used, the

[1] 13 Eliz., c. 2. [2] 35 Eliz., c. 2.

[3] William Watson's book, 'Important Considerations, etc.,' was printed in 1601. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

state of things then considered.'[1] Elizabeth and her Government knew well that with the coming of the Jesuits the opposition of Romanists had degenerated into political intrigue, which without severe remedies could only end in the complete subjugation of England to the Romanist powers abroad.[2]

The Puritans were no less active than they had been, until in 1593, the same year which witnessed the culmination of severity against the Recusants, an Act was passed with the intention of stifling Nonconformity once for all. Separatism had increased. It was now made an offence punishable by imprisonment (instead of by a shilling fine) to be absent from church for forty days, or to be present at any conventicle. Otherwise all obstinate offenders were to abjure the realm, and to forfeit all property. In three cases a more severe penalty still was exacted when Greenwood, Barrow, and Penry, three forerunners of Independency, were executed, the first two for complicity in the Marprelate libels, and Penry for traducing the Queen. Barrow is otherwise interesting, as having been the leader of an exile Church in Amsterdam, only one of several such refugee congregations which the United Provinces at this time welcomed. Such coercive measures are deplorable enough when we reflect that the Puritans had all along included in their number

[1] 'Important Considerations, etc.,' p. 6.

[2] 'If we remember that Elizabeth made no examination into conscience, but at the most required an outward conformity, and if we compare her conduct with that of contemporaneous sovereigns, we are constrained to acknowledge that the compulsory uniformity of the reformed government of England was the most wonderful and most sudden advance in humanity recorded in history. It was the mildest form of religious coercion which had ever been shown up to that period since the time when religion first became incorporated with the State.' Dr T. D. Ingram, 'England and Rome,' pp. 222-3.

not a few of the best and most learned religious men of the period. 'Where,' says one of their apologists, 'shall a man find so many bibles and testaments in the hands of the common sort as where those Puritan preachers (as you term them) have any while continued?'[1] But the stern *régime* began to triumph at length, and after 1593 much less than before is heard of Puritan grievances.

Great changes were at hand. Hooker, the friend and *protégé* of Jewel, published his 'Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity' between 1594 and 1597. Written in matchless English, this great work raised the whole controversy between Anglican and Puritan to far higher ground. The appeal was no longer so much to Church Councils and Fathers as in Jewel's days, but, with no less learning, to the immutable principles of law and reason. His design was to show the reasonableness of the Anglican position, and to win the Puritans to a recognition of it. He took the Church of England as it was, and defended it as it was, against the bitter attacks of the Puritan controversialists whose works and influence were still a force in the land, though a force held in repression at this time. Yet in Hooker's Eucharistic doctrine the reader is conscious of a guarded transition from the language of Homilies and Catechisms to the higher sacramental exposition of Laud and his school. Other teachers appeared here and there whose writings display the same transitional tone. Bancroft, later Bishop of London, had already preached, at Paul's Cross in 1589, a sermon on the divine origin of Episcopacy, which was much criticised, but prepared the way for the views of Montague and others in the next reign. His 'Dangerous Positions,' pub-

[1] 'A Dialogue concerning the Strife of our Church' (1584), p. 94.

lished in 1593, is a similar anticipation of Arminianism. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, credited with being the most learned theologian of the day, followed in the footsteps of Bancroft, and in 1593 produced his 'Perpetual Government of Christ His Church,' which became a text-book of the new school of divines, and was reprinted in the days of the Oxford Movement. And yet, almost coincidently with the appearance of these works which practically inaugurated a new age, Whitgift was framing a Calvinistic and reactionary series of doctrinal articles (known as the Lambeth Articles), which it was endeavoured, but without success, to graft upon the Thirty-nine Articles.[1] Had the attempt been successful, the Church of England, which had successfully resisted the attack upon its polity, would have incorporated into its formularies a set of statements on the doctrines of grace which were of extreme narrowness.

* * *

So the long reign passed on to its close, until the great Queen died in 1603. Her last years were a period of distress and growing social discontent. Many a look was lifted to the future and its possibilities. Religious partisans, each according to his sympathy, wondered what the new reign, which could not be far delayed, was likely to bring. Romanist, Puritan, Anglican—all fixed their hopes upon the man whom general consent indicated as the next monarch.

[1] Described in Hardwicke's 'History of the Articles, cap. vii.

INDEX

ABBEYS : place in Church life, 10, 11 ; lands, see *Monasteries*
Abuses in the Church, cap. ii.
Admonitions to Parliament, 247
Advertisements : character, object, effect, 245
Alexander VI. and tithes, 21 ; character, 22
Allen, Cardinal : quoted, 230 ; work of at Douai, 239
Almsgiving, 15
Alphonso XIII., 17
Altars : to be destroyed, 158 ; restored, 178 ; destroyed again, 219
Alva : fears of, 234, 249
America : discovery of, 57
Anabaptists : origin of, 125 ; punished, 125 ; commission against, 125 ; literature, 125 ; under Elizabeth, 219
Annates : meaning and incidence of, 9, 21 ; bill against, 77 ; repealed, 194
Anne of Cleves, 112 ; arrival, 116
Anti-clericalism : begins to develop, 68, 101
Antiphoners, 178
Antwerp, 233
Apology of Jewel : compiled, 222 ; translated, 222 ; confirmed, 222
Appeal, Court of, 79
Appeals : meaning and influence, 8 ; Act to restrain, 78 ; its preamble, 78 ; repealed, 194
Appointments Act, 80 ; repealed, 194
Arians, 249
Armada, 238, 252
Arminianism, 257
Articles : (1) Ten, 106, 111 ; origin and character, 111 ; (2) Thirteen, 107 ; (3) Six, 115 ; effect of, 118 ; abolished, 136 ; proposed restoration, 184 ; (4) Forty-two, 167 ; character, 168 ; convocation, 169 ; (5) Thirty-nine, 224
Aske and the Pilgrimage of Grace, 93 ; regard of the abbeys, 96
Augsburg Confession, 100 ; relation to our Articles, 106
BABINGTON Plot, 238
Bacon, Sir N., 208
Ball and his doctrines, 33
Bancroft : dangerous positions, 256 ; leads a new school, 256
Bangor, state of, 231
Banners, 29
Baptists, 125, 250
Barlow, Bp., 104, 132, 221
Barnes : at Cambridge, 61 ; executed, 118
Barrow, 255
Beaton, 121
Bedes, bidding the, 9
Bellarmin, 20
Berwick, Suffragan Bishop of, 85
Bible : idea of translating, 110 ; translation promised, 104 ; petition to king, 104 ; knowledge of text, 105 ; study encouraged, 108 ; effect, 111 ; Coverdale's, 105 ; Rogers', 105 ; Matthew's, 105 ; Cranmer's, 105 ; unauthorised translations, 106 ; reading of restricted. See *New Testament*
Bilney : at Cambridge, 61 ; in London, 231
Bilson : his 'Perpetual Government,' 257 ; his influence, 257
Bishops : position and character before the Reformation, 6 ; as statesmen, 6 ; in Parliament, 7 ; election, 8, 80 ; Act concerning, 80 ; regulations of, 13 ; pastoral letters, 15 ; confirmation of, 80 ; homage of, 80 ; character under Edward VI., 61 ; restored, 173 ; in visitation, 185 ; deprivation, 1559, 220 ; new bishops consecrated, 221 ; Elizabethan bishops at work, 231
Bishops' Book, see 'Institution of a Christian Man,' 110
Black Rubric, 166 ; dropped, 226
Boleyn, Anne : early relations with Henry, 58 ; joins the King, 66 ; Lutheran influence, 103 ; discredit and execution of, 91

Boniface VIII. and *Unam sanctam*, 20
Bonner, Bishop of London, 116; dealings with heresy, 128; changes of Edward VI., 135; imprisoned, 135; deprived, 158; restored, 182; his articles, 185; degrades Cranmer, 202
Book of the Holy Discipline, 248
Books, prohibited, 62, 72; Swiss, 151
Brewster, a Lollard, 45
Browne, Robert, a Separatist, 249
Brownists, or Independents, 249
Bucer: at Strasburg, 152; at Cambridge, 152; his *Censura*, 163
Bush, deprived, 181

CALAIS, an English possession, 1; loss of, 205
Cambridge, Lutherans at, 61; visitation of in 1535, 90
Campeggio, as Legate, 60
Campion the Jesuit, 237, 238
Candles, 13; to be taken away, 108
Canon Law, dispensed, 23; its basis, 23; marriage, 55; readers in, abolished, 90; to be restored, 202
Canons, passed in Convocation, 5; of 1604, 222, 224, 246
Canterbury, Archbishop of: position, 6; dispensations by, 80; cathedral, 16; shrine of St Thomas, 109; See of, during vacancy, 188
Carthusians, 10, 17; refuse supremacy, 83; put to death, 85; house at Sheen restored, 187
Cartwright, Puritan leader, 247
Cathedral, position and character, 2; secular and monastic, 3; chapter of, 8
Catholic faith: England does not repudiate, 80
Cecil: Early work under Elizabeth, 208; view of the Church's position, 211; espionage, 236; his State papers, 236
Celibacy, enforced, 114; Act concerning, 137; enforced, 176; made a test, 181
Censura, Bucer's, 163
Ceremonial, some abolished, 139; under Elizabeth, 219; non-observance of, 244
Chantries: meaning and character, 11, 127; obligations, 11; fate of, 127; Act concerning 1547, 137
Chantry priests, position and character, 11, 12
Charles V., emperor, 56; relation to the divorce, 60; to France, 111; retires, 200
Christmas services, 13
Church Courts: place and influence, 3; jurisdiction, 5; character, 6, 25; fees, 9; regulated, 69
Church of England: constitution in 15th century, cap. i.; defects in, 20; signs of change, cap. iii.; its hold on the people, 18; services before the Reformation, 4, 26; language of, 26; as described in 1500, 12; doctrine and errors, 27; various opinions, 45; effect of Reformation Parliament, 81
Church, fabrics maintained, 15; ceremonies abolished, 139; symbolism, 2, 3
Church furniture, character, 18; action under Edward VI., 159, 165; altars, 13, 159, 216; candles, 13, 108; holy water, 13; cross, 14, 219; candlesticks, 17, 219; censers, 17, 219; patens, 17; chalice, 17; commissions concerning, 165; articles restored, 178, destroyed, 219; Easter sepulchre, 178, 219; Paschal candle, 178
Church government, old views, cap. i.; new views, 151, 247
Church, primitive, appeal to, 215, 222, 247
Churchwardens, 27
Cistercians, 10, 17, 86
City companies, 14
Clement VII., 60
Clergy, parochial, 6; character and morality, 6, 24; abroad, 24; popularity, 6, 25, 68, 101; taxation of, 5; tithes, 25; Benefit of, 25; secular, 25; submission of, see *Submission of clergy*; antipathy towards sets in, 68; first steps to humble, 72; involved with Wolsey, 73; petition against, 75; married deprived, 218; conform generally 1559, 230; reluctant, 230
Clerical subsidies, 5
Cluniac monks, 86
Colet: Italian renaissance, 40; at Oxford, 41; his lectures, 42; his influence, 41; his sermon in 1512, 46, 53*n*

Colleges founded, 98
Commerce develops, 50
Commissions concerning Church goods, 165. See *Visitation*
Commission, high, 220, 230
Communion, order of 1548, 139; its character, 139
Commons, the petition of 1532, 75, 101; reply to, 76
Commons, enclosed, 148
Confession, enforced, 114; compulsion abolished, 140
Confirmation administered, 7
Convocation: position and influence, 4, 75; canons, 5, 75; deliberations in 1529, 69; protest of, 69; reply to Commons, 76; signs submission, 76; repudiates papal jurisdiction, 82; gravamina 1536, 106; in 1547, 136; protest of, 136; relation to First Prayer Book, 142; attacks Articles of 1553 and Catechism, 176; absolved by Pole, 192; petition under Mary as to abbey lands and heresy, 192; protest in 1559, 220; in 1563, 223; importance of that Convocation, 223; Puritan efforts at, 243
Council, General, idea of, 122. See *Trent*.
Coverdale: at Cambridge, 61; translates Bible, 105; bishop, 161; signs manifesto, 184; assists at Parker's consecration, 221; deprived, 246
Cranmer: at Cambridge, 61; attracts Henry's notice, 70; sent to foreign universities, 70; ambassador, 71; archbishop 1533, 77; pronounces divorce, 78; Suffragan Bishops Act, 85; his Lutheranism, 103, 112; his wife, 103; confers with Germans, 103; favours Bible translation, 105; his great Bible, 105; reaction against his influence, 114; learning and liturgical work, 126; Act against revilers, 136; desire as to chantries, 138; relation to Somerset, 141; action as to First Prayer Book, 142; relation to foreign reformers, 153; views on the Eucharist, 153; influence of Ridley, 153; recedes from Lutheran views, 153; relation to Knox, 161; contemplates Prayer Book revision, 163; his *Defence*, 162; action as to Second Prayer Book, 164; view of church pillage, 166; Articles of 1553, 167; his challenge, 173; treatment of, 179; appeals for life, 179; remains in Tower, 182; the Oxford debate, 182; to be degraded, 188, 199; long imprisonment, 199; appeals to Pope, 202; last scenes, 203
Creeping to the Cross, 14
Crespy, Treaty of, 121
Cromwell, Thomas, first appears, 73; character and antecedents, 73, *cf.* 117; urges on the submission of the clergy, 75; relation to the monasteries, 87; appointed visitor, 90; countenances Lutheranism, 102; his character at this time, 102, *cf.* 117; attitude to the Reformation, 110; Lutheran alliance, 112; his influence, 113; Parliament of 1539, 114; made Earl of Essex, 117; charges against, 117; execution, 117
Crowe, at Cambridge, 61
Cup, restoration of, 137, 213

DEAD, prayer for the, 128, 136. See *Chantries*
Decretals, the false, 23
Degrees, the prohibited, 8
Discipline, Book of the Holy, 248
Dispensations, 22; Act concerning, 80; clause concerning visitation of the monasteries, 86; repeal of the Act, 194
Dissolution, of the smaller houses, 90; of the larger, 94; effect of, 95
Douai, 233, 239
Durham: Bishop, position in north, 7, see *Tunstall*, *Pilkington*; cathedral, monastic, 3; shrine desecrated, 109; city, a place of pilgrimage, 16; earls at, 235; diocese, in 16th century, 2; under Elizabeth, 231; Dean, 232; Palatinate seized, 158; Northumberland's plot, 235; rising of the earls, 235

EASTER sepulchres, 178, 217
Edgworth quoted, 99
Edinburgh, ravaged, 121
Education, provision for, 138
Edward I., conquest of Wales, 1
—— IV., the Renaissance begins, 41; descendants, 109
—— VI., accession, 130; character,

131; England at his accession, 131; religious policy, 132; visitation of 1547, 133; new reformers under, 154; declining health, 169; death, 170
Elizabeth, death of contemplated, 181; accession, 205; relation of the Pope to, 205; religious views of, 205; her Privy Council, 208; proposed alteration of religion, 208; importance of her reign, 209; proclamation concerning religion, 210; and Prayer Book of 1549, 210; repeals Mary's Acts of Repeal, 213; no open hostility displayed, 229; view taken of, 231; Association for her defence, 234; process against at Rome, 235; excommunication of, 235-6; plots against, 236; rumours, 236; relation to Puritans, 245; persecutes Anabaptists, 250; death of, 257
Elizabethan settlement: see chap. xiii. generally; its character, 226; not generally acceptable, 229; permanent influence of, 209, 225
Endowments, criticism directed against, 11
England: in fifteenth century, 1; religion in, 12; state of in 1509 and in 1547, 131; wealth of, 17; new spirit in, cap. iii., 52; state at accession of Elizabeth, 208; prospers under Elizabeth, 252; greater unity, 253
Episcopacy: Bancroft on, 256
Erasmus, and monasticism, 11; in England, 41; at Cambridge, 43; his Greek Testament, 49; its influence, 49; his paraphrases, 134
Eucharist, its central character, 30; debate in 1548, 142; in 1553, 177
Excommunication, 6; of Elizabeth, 235-6
Exemptions, 25
Exiles, return of the Marian, 208; influence, 242
Eye, changes at, 18

FAMILY of Love, 250
Farel, 150
Ferrar, Bishop, as Visitor, 133; deprived, 181; martyr, 198
Feudalism breaks up, 50
Filelfo and the Italian Renaissance, 39
First Fruits, 9
Fish, Simon, 62
Fisher, Bishop, 43; declines the oath, 82; appointed cardinal, 85; executed, 85
Fitz and the first Independent congregation, 8
Fitzjames, Bishop of London, 49
Flodden, Battle of, 57
Florence and the Medici, 37; home of the Renaissance, 37
Foreign congregations, 250
Fox, Bishop Edward, 104
Fox, Bishop Richard, and the Renaissance, 43; his statesmanship, 132
Foxe, John, as historian, 45; his lists of heretics, 64; 'Acts and Monuments,' 222; its effect, 223; Prebendary of Durham, 244
France, campaign of 1512, 57; relations with Charles V., 67, 111, 116, 131, 200; with England, 78, 201; with Scotland, 120; recovery of, 253
Francis I. of France, 56, 111
Friars: place in the Church, 10; observants and the supremacy, 83; various orders of, 86
Friday, Good, services, 14

GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, 113; leads reaction, 113; his triumph, 116; influence with Henry VIII., 117; omitted from the Council 1547, 130; protest of, 133, 135; imprisoned, 135; writes against Cranmer, 162; draws marriage treaty, 180; officiate at Mary's marriage, 186: preaches after the restoration, 192; commissioner for heresy, 197
Geneva, influence of, 247
German influence after 1517, 46
'Germanical natures,' 250
'Germany' at Cambridge, 61
Glastonbury, recommenced, 204
Goldwell, Bishop, 233
Goodrick, Bishop, 104, 163
Gospellers, 101
Grace, medieval conception of the means, 30
Grace, Pilgrimage of, 92; character, 92
Greek, its revival and influence, 35
Greek Testament, 49

Greenwood, Independent martyr, 255
Grindal, Bishop of London, etc., relation to the Puritans, 247
Grey, Lady Jane, 169, 171; execution, 179
Grey, William, 40
Grocyn, introduces the study of Greek, 40
Guilds, their character and place in Church-life, 14; abolished, 138

HALIDON Ridge, 120
Hamilton, Patrick, 121
Harding, T., and Jewel, 233
Harnack quoted, 29
Hartlepool, the Earls at, 235
Henry IV. and Wales, 1; monasteries decline under, 10
Henry VI., his humiliating reign
Henry VII., accession, 1; England under, 17; Church under, cap. i.; connection with the Renaissance, 43, 54
Henry VIII., accession and character, 53; England at his accession, 131; as student, 55; marriage proposals, 55; married to Katharine, 55; early married life, 55; early politics, 56; his rivals, 56; death of his children, 57; prospects of the succession, 57; idea of a divorce, 57; scruples increase, 58; a suit instituted, Wolsey undertakes the case, 58; it is referred to Pope, 59; precedents for a divorce, 60; case cited to Rome, 61; effect of its collapse, 64; his early anti-clericalism, 64 *note*; lives with Anne Boleyn, 74; declaration of divorce contemplated, 77; divorce announced, 78; excommunication of, 78; succession defined, 81; he becomes a tyrant, 82; effect of the Supremacy Act, 83; crusade proposed, 85; marries Jane Seymour, 92; his good fortune, 92; relation to *Ten Articles*, 106; marries Anne of Cleves, 112; marries Katharine Howard, 116; freedom from war, 119; claim upon Scotland, 120; the king's Primer 126; his death and character, 129
Hereford, cathedral, 16; diocese, 231-2, chapter, 232
Heresy, punishment of, under Henry VII., 45; under Henry VIII., 45; increase of, 1512, 45; Convocation to extirpate, 45; abjuration enforced, 48, 64; new legislation 1534, 81; relation of Lutheranism, 99; Bonner proceeds against, 128; Heresy Acts repealed, 136; their proposed restoration, 185; again debated, 192; Act, 192; its operation, 196
Hermann, Archbishop, his *Consultatio*, 140
Hertford, see *Seymour*
High Commission, 220, 230
Hilsey, Bishop, 104
Hodgkins, Bishop, 221
Holgate, Archbishop, deposed, 181
Holyrood burned, 121
Holy Week, ceremonies, 13
Homilies: first book of, 134; use of, 140; republished, 224; second book, 224; described, 225; homily against wilful rebellion, 235
Hooker: his opinion of Jewel, 222; view of the Elizabethan settlement, 227; writes 'The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,' 256; its character and effect, 256; his Eucharistic doctrine, 256; it marks a transition, 256
Hooper: comes to England, 153; his visitation, 172; deprived, 181; manifesto, 184; martyr, 198
Howard, Katharine, 117; execution, 118
Humphrey, Puritan leader, 243; his influence, 244

ICONOCLASM, under Edward VI., 132
Images to be taken away, 108; abused images, 134; further dealings, 157
Immorality, cognizance of, 5
Immunities, ill effects of, 25
Independents, see *Brownists*; rise of, 249
Indulgences, meaning, 16, 31; how obtained, 31; how defended 31, and defined, 31; at Reformation, 80; repudiated 1536, 107
Injunctions, of 1536, 108; of 1538, 108; policy of, 119; of 1547, 134; of 1554, 181, 185; of 1559, 215
'Institution of a Christian Man,' 107, 111; to be read, 107
Inventories of Church goods, 18; to be drawn up, 160
Ireland, relation to England, 1

Irreverence, proclamation against, 139
'Italian Narrative,' 12, 17, 18

JACOBS, Dr H. E., on Lutheranism, 64 *note*
Jesuits, at work, 237; object and methods, 238; accessions, 239; effect, 239
Jewel, meditates exile, 174; writes 'Apology,' 222, 233; account of the West, 232; challenge, 232; controversy with Harding, 233
Justification: Luther's view, 48; in Ten Articles, 107

KATHARINE, marries Henry VIII., 55; loses influence, 57; popular sympathy, 67
Kitchin, Bishop, refuses the oath 1559, 220
Kneeling at communion, 166
Knollys in office, 208
Knox, and the Scottish Reformation, 121; in England, 161; preaches, 166

LAMBERT, at Cambridge, 61
Lambeth Articles, 257
Lancastrians and the Church, 53
Latimer, 40
Latimer, Hugh, Bishop, 8, 104; preaches, 157; in Tower, 182; martyr, 199
Laud, new era in theology, 227
Laws announced, 15
Learning, the New, 34; use of term, 35
Legate, 8
Legatine Court, 61; Synod of 1557, 201
Leo X. and Luther, 48
Lessons in English, 134
Lever, 243
Linacre, 40
Litany in English, 126
Literature, growth of, 98
Liturgical change: contemplated, 109; taken up, 126; Order of Communion, 140; preparation of the First Prayer Book, 141; the second, 164; the Elizabethan, 210, 213
Lollardy: its origin and criticism of the Church, 12; continuance, 33, 52; Lollard conclusions, 33; spread of such views, 49; acts against, 136
London and the Reformation, 158, 231; Puritanism in, 243
London Diocese and the Settlement of Religion, 231
Lopez plot, 254
Louvain, influence of, 233
Love, family of, 250
Luther: his protest, 46; early works, 47; character, 47, 48; on indulgences, 47; on celibacy, 47; monasteries, 47; the means of grace, 48; justification, 48; influence in London, 48; his books in England, 48; they are burned, 48; influence, 63
Lutherism, a new wave of, 71, 75, 98; how far novel, 100; wild talk, 100; authoritative encouragement, 100; reaction against, 112; repudiated, 124; decay of influence, 156

MACHYN'S 'Diary,' 219
Marprelate libels, 248, 255
Married clergy, dealings with, 176; see *Celibacy*.
Mary, Queen, has to renounce the Pope, 92; mass refused, 158; proclaimed, 172; early movements, 172; announces her religious policy, 172; is crowned, 174; her hopes for the Church, 174; first Act of repeal, 175; proposed marriage, 179; opposition to it, 179; discussions and proposals, 179; risings arranged, 180; Wyatt's rebellion, 181; severity shown, 181; issues injunctions, 181; deprives clergy, 185; marriage, 186; welcomes Pole, 190; orders a *Te Deum*, 191; thanksgiving at St Paul's, 192; persecution under, 195; deepening gloom of her reign, 196; abbey lands, 200; Act of Surrender, 201; death, 205
Mary Queen of Scots: birth, 120; matches proposed, 120; effect of, 120; taken to France, 147; betrothed to Dauphin Francis, 147; married, 205; hope of the Romanists, 233; flight to England, 234; plot of 1569, 234; at Coventry, 235; execution, 238
Mary of Guise, 120
Mass, observance of, 13, 18; regard of, 26, 29; ceases to be a communion, 30; its service, 30; de-

bated in Parliament, 142; Cranmer's challenge, 173; restored, 178; abolished, 215; private celebrations, 230
Matrimonial causes, 8
Maundy Thursday services, 14
Medici, 39
Melanchthon, influence of, 152
Middle class, rise of, 50
Military Religious Orders, 13
Ministry, view of, 29; control of the laity, 29
Minor Orders, omitted, 157
Minsters dissolved, 138
Missionary appeal, 15
Monasteries: place in Church life, 10; satirised by Erasmus, 11; usefulness, 10, 89; decline in, 10; precedent for dissolution, 11; orders of, 86; distribution, 86; libraries, 35; exemptions, 25; morality in, 87; dissolution projected, 89; visitation and report, 90; dissolution of the smaller, 91; income from, 91; used for new sees, 94; for works, 95; for schools, 95; restoration of the lands impossible, 175; debated, 193; conceded, 193; confirmed, 194; legality of this, 194; refounded, 204
Monastic cathedrals, 3
Montague, Bishop, introduces new school of thought, 227, 256
More, Sir T.: on clergy, 24; on Cambridge Lutheranism, 62; on Tyndale, 63, 99; writes Dialogue, 63; writes 'Supplication of Souls,' 63; on new views, 64; declines the oath, 82; executed, 85
Morton, Archbishop, 132

NANTES, Edict of, 253
'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition,' etc., 123; idea and compilation, 123; king's relation to, 123; its character, 124
Netherlands, 234, 249
New Testament, annotated editions, 162, see *Tyndale*
Nobility, the new, 50
Nonconformists, the first, 161; under Elizabeth, 247, 248; attempt to crush, 255
Norfolk and the Reaction, 113
Northumberland (Dudley) in power, 156; changes introduced, 158; appointment of bishops, 168; his plot, 169, 171; executed, 173; Acts revoked, 175
Northumberland (Percy), rebellion of, 234; Sir Henry, 235

OATH to clergy: (1) in 1547, 135; (2) in 1559, 215, 218; refused by the bishops, 220
Oecolampadius, 150
Offices, the daily, 4, 26
Ordinal of 1550, 157; of 1552, 221
Ordinations under Elizabeth, 243
Ornaments, legal, 217, 245-246
Ornaments, Rubric: history, 209; difficulties of, 217; action in 1559, 218; rubric of 1559, 217; ignored, 218; relation to the *Advertisements*, 246
Our Lady, office of, 18
Our Lady of Walsingham, 16, 109
Oxford and Lutheranism, 48, 61; Eucharistic debate at, 182

PALATINATE of Durham, its power, 7; seized, 158; restored, 184
Papacy, its aggressive character, 7; its growth, 7; fluctuations, 7; under Henry VII., 8; jurisdiction, 8; medieval view of, 20; its good side, 21; practical meaning, 8, 21; character, 9; dues to, 21; dispensations, 8, 22; appeals, 8; annates, 9; legates, 8; election of bishops, 8; Peter's Pence, 80; claims allowed through ignorance, 22; English regard of, 9, 10; repudiated by Convocation, 82; jurisdiction to be restored, 186; recovers prestige, 208; authority abolished, 213
Paraphrases of Erasmus, 134, 216
Pardoners, meaning and character, 15; satirised, 16
Parish Church, its place and character, 1, 2; relics in, 27
Parish clergy, 6
Parker, Abp., and XLII. Articles, 168; consecrated, 221; validity of his consecration, 221; his work, 221; Convocation of 1563, 223; confers with Puritans, 244
Parliament (1) of 1529 called, 67; object, 67; meets, 68; early Acts, 69; (2) spring 1534, 79; (3) end of 1534, 83; (4) of 1536, 91; (5) of 1539, 113; (6) of 1547, 136; debate on the Mass, 142; (7) of 1549, 156; (8) of 1552, 164; (9) of 1553, 174;

(10) of 1554, 184, 186, 190; absolves the schism, 191; (11) of 1557, 200; (12) of 1559, 210; Supremacy and Uniformity Acts, 210; (13) of 1563, 223, 230
Parliamentary character of the Church considered, 210
Parsons the Jesuit, 237, 238
Paternosters, saying of, 18
Paul III. and the projected crusade, 85; and Trent, 122
Paul IV. and the monastery lands, 195; and politics, 200
Penal Acts, of 1581, 237, 239; of 1584, 237; of 1585, 237, 239; relief proposed, 238; general effect, 253
Penry, Independent martyr, 255
Percy, Sir H., 235
Persecutions, of Mary, 197; martyrs, 198; locality, 198; instigators, 199; effect of, 206, 242; of Elizabeth, 254-5, and *note*
Peter Martyr, antecedents, 152; at Oxford, 152; leaves England, 173
Peter's Pence, character, 21; Act against, 80
Philip II. of Spain, betrothed to Mary, 179; treaty, 184; arrives, 186; marriage, 186; his sovereignty, 200; leaves England, 200
Pilkington, Bishop, at Durham, 231, 244
Pilgrimage, place in the pre-Reformation Church, 16; famous scenes of, 16; to Rome, 40; abolished, 109
Pilgrimage of Grace, 92; clergy in, 94
Pius V. excommunicates Elizabeth, 235
Plato, study of, 41
Pluralism, Act against, 70; repealed in part, 194
Pole, preaches a religious war, 109, 111, 189; appointed legate, 174; nominates bishops, 181; demands admission, 188; character, 189; attainder annulled, 190; enters England, 190; absolves the realm, 192; dispenses the abbey lands, 192; legatine synod, 201; consecrated, 203; and the persecution, 206; death, 205
Politian, 39, 40
Ponet, Bishop, 161; Catechism, 168
Poullain, 153
Præmunire, 66, 73; its effect, 73
Prayer Book of 1549, preparation for, 141; drafts for, 142; in Parliament, 142; and Convocation, 142; Uniformity Act, 142; its object, 143; sources, 143; compared with Latin service-books, 144; reception of, 146; criticism of, 154; Ordinal added (1550), 157; proscribed, 176
Prayer Book of 1552, contemplated, 164; revision undertaken, 164; character of, 164; Uniformity Act, 164; changes introduced, 165; use of, 165; Black Rubric added, 167; fate and survival, 167; proscribed, 176; ordination under, 185; restored with changes, 214
Prayer Book of 1559, revision, 210, 213; book of 1552 restored, 214; Scott's criticism, 214; in use, 215; changes after the Act, 217
Presbyterianism, developed, 245; attempt on Church, 248; forms separate congregations, 248
Priesthood, medieval view of, 29
Primer, the King's, 126
Primitive Church, the appeal to, 215, 222, 247
Printing, discovery of, 43; influence of, 43, 44
Privy Council in 1558, 208; faces the difficult position, 209; Acts of the, 236; relation to the Puritans, 250
Probate, fees for, 69
Processions revived, 126; abolished 1559, 216
Proclamations Act repealed, 136
Provisors, 72
Puritans, fate of, under Mary, 242; reinforced from abroad, 1559, 243; no voice in the settlement, 243; effect of Advertisements on, 246; activity maintained, 255; Act to crush, 255; effect of, 256

QUIGNON'S Breviary, 144

REFORMATION, need of, cap. ii.; prepared, cap. iii.; influence of the Renaissance, 34; gradual, 34; stir of new ideas, 50; political side of, 66, 97; doctrinal side, 97; relation of the Universities, 98; ferment produced by, 99; effect of, 119; in Switzerland, 150; Great Acts of repealed, 194
Refugees on the Continent, 173
Relics, carried about, 16; in churches, etc., 16; regard of, 27; repudiated, 109, 119

Religious Orders, see *Monasteries* and *Military Religious Orders*
Renaissance, 34; gradual, 34; stir of new ideas, 50; precursors of, 35; recovery of Greek, of literary taste, etc., 38; side influence of, 39; its two sides, 40; general trend, 98
Repeal, Mary's first Act of, 175; her second Act, 193
Residences, Jesuit, 239
Revilers, Act against, 136
Revolution in the 16th century, 148
Ridley, preaches, 132; as visitor, 133; Bishop of London, 158; injunctions, 158; represents mediating school, 159; action concerning altars, 159; supports Lady Jane Grey, 171; imprisoned, 172; in the Tower, 182; martyr, 199
Ridolfi Plot, 236
Ripon, St Wilfrid's shrine, 16; minster dissolved, 138
Risings, Pilgrimage of Grace, 92; in 1549, 146, 147; in 1554, 181
Rocamadour, 16
Rogers, Bible translated by, 105; martyr, 198
Romanists, campaign of, cap. xiv.; position under Elizabeth, 254. See *Papacy*
Rome, Sack of 1527, 59; English School at, 233, 240
Rosaries, use of, 18

SACRAMENTS: three, 106; seven, 107, 124
Sampson, influence of, 243
Sanders, 233
Sarum, use, 144
Schoolmen, meaning and influence, 34
Schools to be founded, 139
Scory, Bishop, 161, 221
Scotland, relation to England, 1; Church of, 1; Flodden, 57; renewed war, 120, 131; Reformation in, 121
Scott, Bishop, speech about Prayer Book, 214
Secular cathedrals, 3
Selling, visits Italy, 40, 41
Seminarists, 239; laws against, 240; their work, 240
Separatism, see *Puritans, Independents, Presbyterianism*
Services, character, 4
Service Books, printed, 109; to be amended, 126; superseded, 144; destroyed, 157; survivors, 157; restored, 177; destroyed, 219
Seymour (Somerset), early influence, 128; Protector, 130; his early life and views, 130; coming change, 133; his later views, 155; his fall, 155
Shaxton, Bishop, 104; resigns, 123
Sheen Charterhouse, 187
Shrines, destroyed, 108, 109; as centres of pilgrimage, 16; the chief, 16; finally destroyed, 216
Six Articles, 114
Slander cases, 5
Solway Moss, 120
Somerset, see *Seymour*
Spain, as illustrating England, 17; clergy in, 24; feeling of English to, 180, 186, 253; relation to France, 200; projected invasion, 236, 252
Spiritualty and temporalty, division between, 68, 101
Stapleton, 233
Strasburg, Reformation at, 152
Stubbs, Bishop, on Henry VIII., 29
Submission of the Clergy, contemplated, 72; signed, 76, 79; its effect, 76; confirmed by Act, 79; repealed, 194
Subscription, 167; enforced, 224, 247
Succession, Act of 1534, 81; second Act, 84; third, 92; fourth, 130
Suffolk, Duke of, 128
Suffragan Bishops Act, 85
Sunday observance, 13
Supremacy Act, 83; under Edward VI., 135; of Elizabeth, 210; importance and history, 210, 212; explained, 212; Act of 1563, 223
Surplice enjoined, 245
Swiss Books in England, 151
Swiss Reformers, 100, 150; influence in England, 156; recession from, 226
Synod of 1557, 202

TABLES to be set up, 139, 216
Taylor, Bishop, deprived, 181
Theology, mediæval, 28; its scholastic character, 36
Thirlby, Bishop, degrades Cranmer, 202; removed from Council, 208
Throgmorton Plot, 237
Tithes, payment and disputes, 5, 25
Tomlinson quoted, 128
Towns, growth of, 50

Transubstantiation, enforced, 115; explained, 124; declaration in favour of, 177; made a test, 181
Treasons' Act, 84
Trent, Council of, called, 121; reassembled, 222
Tudors, and Wales, 1; secret diplomacy, 67
Tudor Church, cap. i.
Tunstall and Submission of the Clergy, 74; and reaction, 113; deprived, 158; meets Pole, 190
Tyndale, at Cambridge, 61; life and character, 62; New Testament, 62, 72; 'Wicked Mammon,' 63; 'Obedience of a Christian Man,' 63; his work abroad, 71; influence in England, 72; his English works, 99; Bible translation, 104

Uniformity Acts, first (1549), 142, 146; second (1552), 184; third (1559), 213
Universities and the Reformation, 98

Valladolid, 213, 240
Vestments of 1549, 145; fate of in 1559, 219; variety of use, 245; Advertisements, 245
Visitors to enforce Supremacy Act, 83; of smaller houses, 90; of larger, 94; in 1547, 133; in 1559, 218, 220
Vittorino and education, 39

Wales, relation to England, 1, 2
Walsingham, Our Lady of, 16, 109
Warwick, see *Northumberland* (Dudley)
Watson, W., 'Important Considerations,' 254
Westmoreland, Earl of, 234
Whitgift, opposes Puritans, 247; Articles, 224; Lambeth Articles, 257
Whittingham, 244
Winchester School, 11; Cathedral, 16
Wishart, G., 121
Wolsey, early career, 56; influence with Henry VIII., 57; educational reform, 59; Cardinal College, 59; his religious views, 59; created legate, 59; relation to Oxford Lutheranism, 62; warns the Pope, 66; declared guilty of præmunire, 66
Worcester diocese, 2
Wyatt's rebellion, 181
Wycliffism, its criticism of the Church, 11, 29; and the Papacy, 7, 20; and Church defects, 32; repression, 32; lectures, 43; real force, 44

Yarmouth, changes at, 160
York, province of, 2; pilgrimage to, 16; Convocation of, 5

Zurich, Reformation at, 150
Zwingli and Prayer Book of 1549, 146; his work, 150; his influence on the Articles, 168

PRINTED BY
TURNBULL AND SPEARS,
EDINBURGH

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY METHUEN AND COMPANY: LONDON 36 ESSEX STREET W.C.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Literature,	2-22
Ancient Cities,	22
Antiquary's Books,	22
Arden Shakespeare	23
Beginner's Books,	23
Business Books,	23
Byzantine Texts,	24
Churchman's Bible,	24
Churchman's Library,	24
Classical Translations,	24
Classics of Art,	24
Commercial Series,	25
Connoisseur's Library,	25
Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books,	25
Junior Examination Series,	26
Junior School-Books,	27
Leaders of Religion,	27
Library of Devotion,	27
Little Books on Art,	28
Little Galleries,	28
Little Guides,	28
Little Library,	29
Little Quarto Shakespeare,	30
Miniature Library,	30
Oxford Biographies,	30
School Examination Series,	31
School Histories,	31
Simplified French Texts,	31
Standard Library,	31
Textbooks of Science,	32
Textbooks of Technology,	32
Handbooks of Theology,	32
Westminster Commentaries,	32
Fiction,	33-39
Books for Boys and Girls,	39
Novels of Alexandre Dumas,	39
Methuen's Sixpenny Books,	39

MAY 1909

A CATALOGUE OF

MESSRS. METHUEN'S

PUBLICATIONS

In this Catalogue the order is according to authors. An asterisk denotes that the book is in the press.

Colonial Editions are published of all Messrs. METHUEN'S Novels issued at a price above *2s. 6d.*, and similar editions are published of some works of General Literature. These are marked in the Catalogue. Colonial editions are only for circulation in the British Colonies and India.

All books marked net are not subject to discount, and cannot be bought at less than the published price. Books not marked net are subject to the discount which the bookseller allows.

Messrs. METHUEN'S books are kept in stock by all good booksellers. If there is any difficulty in seeing copies, Messrs. Methuen will be very glad to have early information, and specimen copies of any books will be sent on receipt of the published price *plus* postage for net books, and of the published price for ordinary books.

I.P.L. represents Illustrated Pocket Library.

PART I.—GENERAL LITERATURE

Abraham (George D.) THE COMPLETE MOUNTAINEER. With 75 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Acatos (M. J.). See Junior School Books.

Adams (Frank). JACK SPRAT. With 24 Coloured Pictures. *Super Royal 16mo. 2s.*

Adeney (W. F.), M.A. See Bennett (W. H.)

Ady (Cecilia M.). A HISTORY OF MILAN UNDER THE SFORZA. With 20 Illustrations and a Map. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Æschylus. See Classical Translations.

Æsop. See I.P.L.

Ainsworth (W. Harrison). See I.P.L.

Aldis (Janet). THE QUEEN OF LETTER WRITERS, MARQUISE DE SÉVIGNÉ, DAME DE BOURBILLY, 1626-96. With 18 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Alexander (William), D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. THOUGHTS AND COUNSELS OF MANY YEARS. *Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

Alken (Henry). See I.P.L.

Allen (Charles C.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Allen (L. Jessie). See Little Books on Art.

Allen (J. Romilly), F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books.

Almack (E.), F.S.A. See Little Books on Art.

Amherst (Lady). A SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. With many Illustrations and Maps. *A New and Cheaper Issue Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Anderson (F. M.). THE STORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOR CHILDREN. With 42 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

Anderson (J. G.), B.A., NOUVELLE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE, A L'USAGE DES ÉCOLES ANGLAISES. *Crown 8vo. 2s.* EXERCICES DE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Andrewes (Bishop). PRECES PRIVATAE. Translated and edited, with Notes, by F. E. BRIGHTMAN. M.A., of Pusey House, Oxford. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Library of Devotion.

'Anglo-Australian.' AFTER-GLOW MEMORIES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Anon. HEALTH, WEALTH, AND WISDOM. *Crown 8vo. 1s. net.*

Aristotle. THE ETHICS OF. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by JOHN BURNET, M.A., *Cheaper issue. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Asman (H. N.), M.A., B.D. See Junior School Books.

Atkins (H. G.). See Oxford Biographies.

Atkinson (C. M.). JEREMY BENTHAM. *Demy 8vo. 5s. net.*

***Atkinson (C. T.),** M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, sometime Demy of Magdalen College. A HISTORY OF GERMANY, from 1713 to 1815. With many Maps. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

Atkinson (T. D.). ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE. With 196 Illustrations *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE. With 265 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Auden (T.), M.A., F.S.A. See Ancient Cities.

Aurelius (Marcus). WORDS OF THE ANCIENT WISE. Thoughts from Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Edited by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A., Litt. D. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
See also Standard Library.

Austen (Jane). See Standard Library, Little Library and Mitton (G. E.).

Aves (Ernest). CO-OPERATIVE INDUSTRY. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

Bacon (Francis). See Standard Library and Little Library.

Baden-Powell (R. S. S.) THE MATABELE CAMPAIGN, 1896. With nearly 100 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Bagot (Richard). THE LAKES OF NORTHERN ITALY. With 37 Illustrations and a Map. *Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Bailey (J. C.), M.A. See Cowper (W.).

Baker (W. G.), M.A. See Junior Examination Series.

Baker (Julian L.), F.I.C., F.C.S. See Books on Business.

Balfour (Graham). THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. With a Portrait. *Fourth Edition in one Volume. Cr. 8vo. Buckram, 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Ballard (A.), B.A., LL.D. See Antiquary's Books.

Bally (S. E.). See Commercial Series.

Banks (Elizabeth L.). THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A 'NEWSPAPER GIRL.' *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Barham (R. H.). See Little Library.

Baring (The Hon. Maurice). WITH THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

A YEAR IN RUSSIA. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Baring-Gould (S.). THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. With nearly 200 Illustrations, including a Photogravure Frontispiece. *Second Edition. Wide Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CÆSARS: A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE CÆSARS OF THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN HOUSES. With numerous Illustrations from Busts, Gems, Cameos, etc. *Sixth Edition. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A BOOK OF FAIRY TALES. With numerous Illustrations by A. J. GASKIN. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. Buckram. 6s.*, also *Demy 8vo. 6d.*

OLD ENGLISH FAIRY TALES. With numerous Illustrations by F. D. BEDFORD. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. Buckram. 6s.*

THE VICAR OF MORWENSTOW. Revised Edition. With a Portrait. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

OLD COUNTRY LIFE. With 69 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition. Large Crown 8vo. 6s.*

A GARLAND OF COUNTRY SONG: English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies. Collected and arranged by S. BARING-GOULD and H. F. SHEPPARD. *Demy 4to. 6s.*

SONGS OF THE WEST: Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall. Collected from the Mouths of the People. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., and H. FLEETWOOD SHEPPARD, M.A. New and Revised Edition, under the musical editorship of CECIL J. SHARP. *Large Imperial 8vo. 5s. net.*

A BOOK OF NURSERY SONGS AND RHYMES. Edited by S. BARING-GOULD. Illustrated. *Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

STRANGE SURVIVALS: SOME CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF MAN. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

YORKSHIRE ODDITIES: INCIDENTS AND STRANGE EVENTS. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

THE BARING-GOULD SELECTION READER. Arranged by G. H. ROSE. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

THE BARING-GOULD CONTINUOUS READER. Arranged by G. H. ROSE. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

A BOOK OF CORNWALL. With 33 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF DARTMOOR. With 60 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF DEVON. With 35 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF NORTH WALES. With 49 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF SOUTH WALES. With 57 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF BRITTANY. With 69 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A BOOK OF THE RHINE: From Cleve to Mainz. With 8 Illustrations in Colour by TREVOR HADDEN, and 48 other Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

A BOOK OF THE RIVIERA. With 40 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

A BOOK OF THE PYRENEES. With 25 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.
See also Little Guides.

Barker (Aldred F.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Barker (E.), M.A. (Late) Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Barnes (W. E.), D.D. See Churchman's Bible.

Barnett (Mrs. P. A.). See Little Library.

Baron (R. R. N.), M.A. FRENCH PROSE COMPOSITION. *Third Edition. Cr 8vo. 2s. 6d. Key, 3s. net.*
See also Junior School Books.

Barron (H. M.), M.A., Wadham College, Oxford. TEXTS FOR SERMONS. With

a Preface by Canon SCOTT HOLLAND. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Bartholomew (J. G.), F.R.S.E. See C. G. Robertson.

Bastable (C. F.), LL.D. THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Bastian (H. Charlton), M.A., M.D., F.R.S. THE EVOLUTION OF LIFE. With Diagrams and many Photomicrographs. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Batson (Mrs. Stephen). A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN FLOWERS. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE SUMMER GARDEN OF PLEASURE. With 36 Illustrations in Colour by OSMUND PITTMAN. *Wide Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

Batten (Loring W.), Ph.D., S.T.D. THE HEBREW PROPHET. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Bayley (R. Child). THE COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHER. With over 100 Illustrations. *Third Edition. With Note on Direct Colour Process. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Beard (W. S.). EASY EXERCISES IN ALGEBRA FOR BEGINNERS. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.* With Answers. *1s. 9d.*

See also Junior Examination Series and Beginner's Books.

Beckford (Peter). THOUGHTS ON HUNTING. Edited by J. OTHO PAGET, and Illustrated by G. H. JALLAND. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 6s.*

Beckford (William). See Little Library.

Beeching (H. C.), M.A., Canon of Westminster. See Library of Devotion.

Beerbohm (Max). A BOOK OF CARICATURES. *Imperial 4to. 21s. net.*

Begbie (Harold). MASTER WORKERS. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Behmen (Jacob). DIALOGUES ON THE SUPERSENSUAL LIFE. Edited by BERNARD HOLLAND. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Bell (Mrs. Arthur G.). THE SKIRTS OF THE GREAT CITY. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by ARTHUR G. BELL, 17 other Illustrations, and a Map. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Belloc (Hilaire), M.P. PARIS. With 7 Maps and a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Second Edition, Revised. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

HILLS AND THE SEA. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

ON NOTHING AND KINDRED SUBJECTS. *Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Bellot (H. H. L.), M.A. See Jones (L. A. A.).

Bennett (W. H.), M.A. A PRIMER OF THE BIBLE. With a concise Bibliography. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Bennett (W. H.) and **Adeney (W. F.).** A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Benson (Archbishop) GOD'S BOARD Communion Addresses. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Benson (A. C.), M.A. See Oxford Biographies.

Benson (R. M.). THE WAY OF HOLINESS: a Devotional Commentary on the 119th Psalm. *Cr. 8vo. 5s.*

Bernard (E. R.), M.A., Canon of Salisbury. THE ENGLISH SUNDAY: ITS ORIGINS AND ITS CLAIMS. *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Bertouch (Baroness de). THE LIFE OF FATHER IGNATIUS. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Beruete (A. de). See Classics of Art.

Betham-Edwards (Miss). HOME LIFE IN FRANCE. With 20 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Bethune-Baker (J. F.), M.A. See Handbooks of Theology.

Bidez (J.). See Byzantine Texts.

Biggs (C. R. D.), D.D. See Churchman's Bible.

Bindley (T. Herbert), B.D. THE OECUMENICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE FAITH. With Introductions and Notes. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

Binns (H. B.). THE LIFE OF WALT WHITMAN. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Binyon (Mrs. Laurence). NINETEENTH CENTURY PROSE. Selected and arranged by. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Binyon (Laurence). THE DEATH OF ADAM AND OTHER POEMS. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

See also Blake (William).

Birch (Walter de Gray), LL.D., F.S.A. See Connoisseur's Library.

Birnstingl (Ethel). See Little Books on Art.

Blackmantle (Bernard). See I.P.L.

Blair (Robert). See I.P.L.

Blake (William). THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM BLAKE, TOGETHER WITH A LIFE BY FREDERICK TATHAM. Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with an Introduction and Notes, by ARCHIBALD G. B. RUSSELL. With 12 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. With General Introduction by LAURENCE BINYON. *Quarto. 21s. net.*

See also Blair (Robert), I.P.L., and Little Library.

Bloom (J. Harvey), M.A. SHAKESPEARE'S GARDEN. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; leather, 4s. 6d. net.*

See also Antiquary's Books

Blouet (Henri). See Beginner's Books.

Boardman (T. H.), M.A. See French (W.)

Bodley (J. E. C.), Author of 'France.' THE CORONATION OF EDWARD VII. *Demy 8vo. 21s. net.* By Command of the King.

Body (George), D.D. THE SOUL'S PILGRIMAGE: Devotional Readings from the Published and Unpublished writings of George Body, D.D. Selected and arranged by J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E. *Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

Bona (Cardinal). See Library of Devotion.

Boon (F. C.)., B.A. See Commercial Series.

Borrow (George). See Little Library.

Bos (J. Ritzema). AGRICULTURAL ZOOLOGY. Translated by J. R. AINSWORTH DAVIS, M.A. With 155 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Botting (C. G.), B.A. EASY GREEK EXERCISES. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.*
See also Junior Examination Series.

Boulting (W.) TASSO AND HIS TIMES. With 24 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Boulton (E. S.), M.A. GEOMETRY ON MODERN LINES. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.*

Boulton (William B.). SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A. With 49 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Bowden (E. M.). THE IMITATION OF BUDDHA: Being Quotations from Buddhist Literature for each Day in the Year. *Fifth Edition. Cr.* 16*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Boyle (W.). CHRISTMAS AT THE ZOO. With Verses by W. BOYLE and 24 Coloured Pictures by H. B. NEILSON. *Super Royal* 16*mo.* 2*s.*

Brabant (F. G.), M.A. See Little Guides.

Bradley (A. G.). ROUND ABOUT WILTSHIRE. With 14 Illustrations, in Colour by T. C. GOTCH, 16 other Illustrations, and a Map. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE ROMANCE OF NORTHUMBERLAND. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., and 12 from Photographs. *Second Edition. Demy* 8*vo* 7*s.* 6*d net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Bradley (John W.). See Little Books on Art.

Braid (James), Open Champion, 1901, 1905 and 1906. ADVANCED GOLF. With 88 Photographs and Diagrams. *Fourth Edition. Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Braid (James) and Others. GREAT GOLFERS IN THE MAKING. Edited by HENRY LEACH. With 24 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Brailsford (H. N.). MACEDONIA: ITS RACES AND THEIR FUTURE. With Photographs and Maps. *Demy* 8*vo.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Brodrick (Mary) and **Morton (A. Anderson).** A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF EGYPTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY. A Hand-Book for Students and Travellers. With 80 Illustrations and many Cartouches. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Brooks (E. E.), B.Sc. (Lond), Leicester Municipal Technical School, and **James (W. H. N.),** A.R.C.S., A.M.I.E.E., Municipal School of Technology, Manchester. See Textbooks of Technology.

Brooks (E. W.). See Hamilton (F. J.)

Brown (P. H.), LL.D. SCOTLAND IN THE TIME OF QUEEN MARY. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Brown (S. E.), M.A., B.Sc., Senior Science Master at Uppingham. A PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY NOTE-BOOK FOR MATRICULATION AND ARMY CANDIDATES. Easy Experiments on the Commoner Substances. *Cr.* 4*to.* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

Brown (J. Wood), M.A. THE BUILDERS OF FLORENCE. With 74 Illustrations by HERBERT RAILTON. *Demy* 4*to.* 18*s. net.*

Browne (Sir Thomas). See Standard Library.

Brownell (C. L.). THE HEART OF JAPAN. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*; also *Demy* 8*vo.* 6*d.*

Browning (Robert). See Little Library.

Bryant (Walter W.), B.A., F.R.A.S., F.R. Met. Soc., of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. A HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY. With 35 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s* 6*d. net.*

Buckland (Francis T.). CURIOSITIES OF NATURAL HISTORY. Illustrated by H. B. NEILSON. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Buckton (A. M.) THE BURDEN OF ENGELA. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s* 6*d. net.*

EAGER HEART: A Mystery Play. *Seventh Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 1*s. net.*

KINGS IN BABYLON: A Drama. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 1*s. net.*

SONGS OF JOY. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 1*s. net.*

Budge (E. A. Wallis). THE GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS. With over 100 Coloured Plates and many Illustrations. *Two Volumes. Royal* 8*vo.* £3, 3*s. net.*

Bull (Paul), Army Chaplain. GOD AND OUR SOLDIERS. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Bulley (Miss). See Dilke (Lady).

Bunyan (John). See Standard Library and Library of Devotion.

Burch (G. J.), M.A., F.R.S. A MANUAL OF ELECTRICAL SCIENCE. Illustrated. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.*

Burgess (Gelett). GOOPS AND HOW TO BE THEM. Illustrated. *Small* 4*to.* 6*s.*

Burke (Edmund). See Standard Library.

Burn (A. E.), D.D., Rector of Handsworth and Prebendary of Lichfield. See Handbooks of Theology.

Burn (J. H.), B.D., F.R.S.E. THE CHURCHMAN'S TREASURY OF SONG: Gathered from the Christian poetry of all ages. Edited by. *Fcap.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. net.* See also Library of Devotion.

Burnand (Sir F. C.). RECORDS AND REMINISCENCES. With a Portrait by H. v. HERKOMER. *Cr.* 8*vo. Fourth and Cheaper Edition.* 6*s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Burns (Robert), THE POEMS. Edited by ANDREW LANG and W. A. CRAIGIE. With Portrait. *Third Edition. Demy* 8*vo, gilt top.* 6*s.*
See also Standard Library.

Burnside (W. F.), M.A. OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY FOR USE IN SCHOOLS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Burton (Alfred). See I.P.L.

Bussell (F. W.), D.D. CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS (The Bampton Lectures of 1905). *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Butler (Joseph), D.D. See Standard Library.

Caldecott (Alfred), D.D. See Handbooks of Theology.

Calderwood (D. S.), Headmaster of the Normal School, Edinburgh. TEST CARDS IN EUCLID AND ALGEBRA. In three packets of 40, with Answers. *1s.* each. Or in three Books, price *2d.*, *2d.*, and *3d.*

Canning (George). See Little Library.

Capey (E. F. H.). See Oxford Biographies.

Careless (John). See I.P.L.

Carlyle (Thomas). THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edited by C. R. L. FLETCHER, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. *Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 18s.*

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF OLIVER CROMWELL. With an Introduction by C. H. FIRTH, M.A., and Notes and Appendices by Mrs. S. C. LOMAS. *Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*

Carlyle (R. M. and A. J.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion.

Carmichael (Philip). ALL ABOUT PHILIPPINE. With 8 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Carpenter (Margaret Boyd). THE CHILD IN ART. With 50 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Cavanagh (Francis), M.D. (Edin.). THE CARE OF THE BODY. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Celano (Thomas of). THE LIVES OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. Translated into English by A. G. FERRERS HOWELL. With a Frontispiece. *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Channer (C. C.) and Roberts (M. E.). LACEMAKING IN THE MIDLANDS, PAST AND PRESENT. With 16 full-page Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Chapman (S. J.). See Books on Business.

Chatterton (Thomas). See Standard Library.

Chesterfield (Lord), THE LETTERS OF, TO HIS SON. Edited, with an Introduction by C. STRACHEY, with Notes by A. CALTHROP. *Two Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 12s.*

Chesterton (G. K.). CHARLES DICKENS. With two Portraits in Photogravure. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Childe (Charles P.), B.A., F.R.C.S. THE CONTROL OF A SCOURGE : OR, HOW CANCER IS CURABLE. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Christian (F. W.). THE CAROLINE ISLANDS. With many Illustrations and Maps. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Cicero. See Classical Translations.

Clapham (J. H.), Professor of Economics in the University of Leeds. THE WOOLLEN AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES. With 21 Illustrations and Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Clarke (F. A.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion.

Clausen (George), A.R.A., R.W.S. SIX LECTURES ON PAINTING. With 19 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Large Post 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

AIMS AND IDEALS IN ART. Eight Lectures delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy of Arts. With 32 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Large Post 8vo. 5s. net.*

Cleather (A. L.). See Wagner (R).

Clinch (G.), F.G.S. See Antiquary's Books and Little Guides.

Clough (W. T.) and **Dunstan (A. E.).** See Junior School Books and Textbooks of Science.

Clouston (T. S.), M.D., C.C.D., F.R.S.E. THE HYGIENE OF MIND. With 10 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Coast (W. G.), B.A. EXAMINATION PAPERS IN VERGIL. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

Cobb (W. F.), M.A. THE BOOK OF PSALMS : with a Commentary. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Coleridge (S. T.). POEMS. Selected and Arranged by ARTHUR SYMONS. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Collingwood (W. G.), M.A. THE LIFE OF JOHN RUSKIN. With Portrait. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Collins (W. E.), M.A. See Churchman's Library.

Combe (William). See I.P.L.

Conrad (Joseph). THE MIRROR OF THE SEA: Memories and Impressions. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Cook (A. M.), M.A., and **Marchant (E. C.)**, M.A. PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. Selected from Latin and Greek Literature. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

LATIN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Cooke-Taylor (R. W.). THE FACTORY SYSTEM. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Coolidge (W. A. B.), M.A. THE ALPS. With many Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Corelli (Marie). THE PASSING OF THE GREAT QUEEN. *Second Edition. Fcap. 4to. 1s.*

A CHRISTMAS GREETING. *Cr. 4to. 1s.*

Corkran (Alice). See Little Books on Art.

Cotes (Everard). SIGNS AND PORTENTS IN THE FAR EAST. With 35 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Cotes (Rosemary). DANTE'S GARDEN. With a Frontispiece. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.; leather, 3s. 6d. net.*

BIBLE FLOWERS. With a Frontispiece and Plan. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Cowley (Abraham). See Little Library.

Cowper (William). THE POEMS. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. C. BAILEY, M.A. Illustrated, including two unpublished designs by WILLIAM BLAKE. *Demy 8vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Cox (J. Charles). See Ancient Cities, Antiquary's Books, and Little Guides.

Cox (Harold), B.A., M.P. LAND NATIONALIZATION AND LAND TAXATION. *Second Edition revised. Cr. 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

Crabbe (George). See Little Library.

Craik (Mrs.). See Little Library.

Crane (C. P.), D.S.O. See Little Guides.

Crane (Walter), R.W.S. AN ARTIST'S REMINISCENCES. With 123 Illustrations by the Author and others from Photographs. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo.* 18*s. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

INDIA IMPRESSIONS. With 84 Illustrations from Sketches by the Author. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Crashaw (Richard). See Little Library.

Crawford (F. G.). See Danson (Mary C.).

Crofts (T. R. N.), M.A., Modern Language Master at Merchant Taylors' School. See Simplified French Texts.

Cross (J. A.), M.A. THE FAITH OF THE BIBLE. *Fcap. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

Cruikshank (G.). THE LOVING BALLAD OF LORD BATEMAN. With 11 Plates. *Cr. 16mo.* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

Crump (B.). See Wagner (R.).

Cunliffe (Sir F. H. E.), Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. THE HISTORY OF THE BOER WAR. With many Illustrations, Plans, and Portraits. *In 2 vols. Quarto.* Vol. I. 15*s.*

Cunynghame (H. H.), C.B. See Connoisseur's Library.

Cutts (E. L.), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.

Daniell (G. W.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion.

Dante (Alighieri). LA COMMEDIA DI DANTE. The Italian Text edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt. *Cr. 8vo.* 6*s.*

THE DIVINE COMEDY. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited with a Life of Dante and Introductory Notes by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt. *Demy 8vo.* 6*d.*

THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE. Translated into Spenserian Prose by C. GORDON WRIGHT. With the Italian text. *Fcap. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

See also Little Library, Toynbee (Paget), and Vernon (Hon. W. Warren).

Darley (George). See Little Library.

D'Arcy (R. F.), M.A. A NEW TRIGONOMETRY FOR BEGINNERS. With numerous diagrams. *Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Davenport (Cyril). See Connoisseur's Library and Little Books on Art.

Davenport (James). THE WASHBOURNE FAMILY. With 15 Illustrations and a Map. *Royal 8vo.* 21*s. net.*

Davey (Richard). THE PAGEANT OF LONDON. With 40 Illustrations in Colour by JOHN FULLEYLOVE, R.I. *In Two Volumes. Demy 8vo.* 15*s. net.*

Davis (H. W. C.), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College. ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS AND ANGEVINS: 1066-1272. With Maps and Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Dawson (Nelson). See Connoisseur's Library.

Dawson (Mrs. Nelson). See Little Books on Art.

Deane (A. C.). See Little Library.

Deans (Storry R.). THE TRIALS OF FIVE QUEENS: KATHARINE OF ARAGON, ANNE BOLEYN, MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, MARIE ANTOINETTE and CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK. With 12 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Dearmer (Mabel). A CHILD'S LIFE OF CHRIST. With 8 Illustrations in Colour by E. FORTESCUE-BRICKDALE. *Large Cr. 8vo.* 6*s.*

Delbos (Leon). THE METRIC SYSTEM. *Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.*

Demosthenes. AGAINST CONON AND CALLICLES. Edited by F. DARWIN SWIFT, M.A. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* 2*s.*

Dickens (Charles). See Little Library, I.P.L., and Chesterton (G. K.).

Dickinson (Emily). POEMS. *Cr. 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

Dickinson (G. L.), M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. THE GREEK VIEW OF LIFE. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Dilke (Lady), Bulley (Miss), and **Whitley (Miss).** WOMEN'S WORK. *Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Dillon (Edward), M.A. See Connoisseur's Library and Little Books on Art.

Ditchfield (P. H.), M.A., F.S.A. THE STORY OF OUR ENGLISH TOWNS. With an Introduction by AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 6*s.*

OLD ENGLISH CUSTOMS: Extant at the Present Time. *Cr. 8vo.* 6*s.*

ENGLISH VILLAGES. With 100 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

THE PARISH CLERK. With 31 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Dixon (W. M.), M.A. A PRIMER OF TENNYSON. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

ENGLISH POETRY FROM BLAKE TO BROWNING. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Dobbs (W. J.), M.A. See Textbooks of Science.

Doney (May). SONGS OF THE REAL. *Cr. 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

Douglas (Hugh A.). VENICE ON FOOT. With the Itinerary of the Grand Canal. With 75 Illustrations and 11 Maps. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

Douglas (James). THE MAN IN THE PULPIT. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Dowden (J.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Edinburgh. FURTHER STUDIES IN THE PRAYER BOOK. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Churchman's Library.

Drage (G.). See Books on Business.

Draper (F. W. M.). See Simplified French Texts.

Driver (S. R.), D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. SERMONS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD TESTAMENT. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Westminster Commentaries.

Dry (Wakeling). See Little Guides.

Dryhurst (A. R.). See Little Books on Art.

Du Buisson (J. C.), M.A. See Churchman's Bible.

Duguid (Charles). See Books on Business.

Dumas (Alexandre). THE CRIMES OF THE BORGIAS AND OTHERS. With an Introduction by R. S. GARNETT. With 9 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CRIMES OF URBAIN GRANDIER AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CRIMES OF THE MARQUISE DE BRINVILLIERS AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CRIMES OF ALI PACHA AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Colonial Editions are also published.

MY MEMOIRS. Translated by E. M. WALLER. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG. With Frontispieces in Photogravure. In six Volumes. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. each volume.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.
VOL. I. 1802-1821. VOL. III. 1826-1830.
VOL. II. 1822-1825. VOL. IV. 1830-1831.

Duncan (David), D.Sc., LL.D. THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF HERBERT SPENCER. With 15 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 15s.*

Dunn (J. T.), D.Sc., **and Mundella (V. A.).** GENERAL ELEMENTARY SCIENCE. With 114 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Dunstan (A. E.), B.Sc. (Lond.), East Ham Technical College. See Textbooks of Science, and Junior School Books.

Durham (The Earl of). A REPORT ON CANADA. With an Introductory Note. *Demy 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.*

Dutt (W. A.). THE NORFOLK BROADS. With coloured Illustrations by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

WILD LIFE IN EAST ANGLIA. With 16 Illustrations in colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

SOME LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS OF EAST ANGLIA. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by W. DEXTER, R.B.A., and 16 other Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
See also Little Guides.

Earle (John), Bishop of Salisbury. MICRO-COSMOGRAPHIE, OR A PIECE OF THE WORLD DISCOVERED. *Post 16mo. 2s. net.*

Edmonds (Major J. E.), R.E.; D.A.Q.-M.G. See Wood (W. Birkbeck).

Edwards (Clement), M.P. RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION. *Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Edwards (W. Douglas). See Commercial Series.

Edwardes (Tickner). THE LORE OF THE HONEY BEE. With many Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Egan (Pierce). See I.P.L.

Egerton (H. E.), M.A. A HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY. A Cheaper Issue, with a supplementary chapter. *Second Ed., Revised. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Ellaby (C. G.). See Little Guides.

Ellerton (F. G.). See Stone (S. J.).

Epictetus. See Aurelius (Marcus).

Erasmus. A Book called in Latin ENCHIRIDION MILITIS CHRISTIANI, and in English the Manual of the Christian Knight. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Ewald (Carl). TWO LEGS, AND OTHER STORIES. Translated from the Danish by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Illustrated by AUGUSTA GUEST. *Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Fairbrother (W. H.), M.A. THE PHILOSOPHY OF T. H. GREEN. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Fea (Allan). SOME BEAUTIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. With 82 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

THE FLIGHT OF THE KING. With over 70 Sketches and Photographs by the Author. *New and revised Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

SECRET CHAMBERS AND HIDING-PLACES. With 80 Illustrations. *New and revised Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Ferrier (Susan). See Little Library.

Fidler (T. Claxton), M.Inst. C.E. See Books on Business.

Fielding (Henry). See Standard Library.

Finn (S. W.), M.A. See Junior Examination Series.

Firth (J. B.). See Little Guides.

Firth (C. H.), M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. CROMWELL'S ARMY: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Firth (Edith E.). See Beginner's Books.

FitzGerald (Edward). THE RUBÁIYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM. Printed from the Fifth and last Edition. With a Commentary by Mrs. STEPHEN BATSON, and a Biography of Omar by E. D. ROSS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.* See also Miniature Library.

FitzGerald (H. P.). A CONCISE HAND-BOOK OF CLIMBERS, TWINERS, AND WALL SHRUBS. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Fitzpatrick (S. A. O.). See Ancient Cities.

Flecker (W. H.), M.A., D.C.L., Headmaster of the Dean Close School, Cheltenham. THE STUDENT'S PRAYER BOOK. THE TEXT OF MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER AND LITANY. With an Introduction and Notes. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Fletcher (J. S.). A BOOK OF YORKSHIRE. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WAL PAGET and FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., and 12 from Photographs. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Flux (A. W.), M.A., William Dow Professor of Political Economy in M'Gill University, Montreal. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Foat (F. W. G.), D.Litt., M.A., Assistant Master at the City of London School. LONDON: A READER FOR YOUNG CITIZENS. With Plans and Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Ford (H. G.), M.A., Assistant Master at Bristol Grammar School. See Junior School Books.

Forel (A.). THE SENSES OF INSECTS. Translated by MACLEOD YEARSLEY. With 2 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Fortescue (Mrs. G.). See Little Books on Art.

Fraser (J. F.). ROUND THE WORLD ON A WHEEL. With 100 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

French (W.), M.A. See Textbooks of Science.

Freudenreich (Ed. von). DAIRY BACTERIOLOGY. A Short Manual for Students. Translated by J. R. AINSWORTH DAVIS, M.A. *Second Edition. Revised. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Fulford (H. W.), M.A. See Churchman's Bible.

Fuller (W. P.), M.A. See Simplified French Texts.

Fyvie (John). TRAGEDY QUEENS OF THE GEORGIAN ERA. With 16 Illustrations. *Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Gallaher (D.) and Stead (W. J.). THE COMPLETE RUGBY FOOTBALLER, ON THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM. With 35 Illustrations. *Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Gallichan (W. M.). See Little Guides.

Gambado (Geoffrey, Esq.). See I.P.L.

Gaskell (Mrs.). See Little Library, Standard Library and Sixpenny Novels.

Gasquet, the Right Rev. Abbot, O.S.B. See Antiquary's Books.

George (H. B.), M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. BATTLES OF ENGLISH HISTORY. With numerous Plans. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Gibbins (H. de B.), Litt.D., M.A. INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND: HISTORICAL OUTLINES. With 5 Maps. *Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With Maps and Plans. *Fifteenth Edition, Revised. Cr. 8vo. 3s.*

ENGLISH SOCIAL REFORMERS. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

See also Hadfield (R. A.), and Commercial Series.

Gibbon (Edward). MEMOIRS OF MY LIFE AND WRITINGS. Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL, LL.D *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited, with Notes, Appendices, and Maps, by J. B. BURY, M.A., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. *In Seven Volumes. Demy 8vo. Gilt top. 8s. 6d. each. Also, Crown 8vo. 6s. each.*

See also Standard Library.

Gibbs (Philip). THE ROMANCE OF GEORGE VILLIERS: FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND SOME MEN AND WOMEN OF THE STUART COURT. With 20 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Gibson (E. C. S.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester. See Westminster Commentaries, Handbooks of Theology, and Oxford Biographies.

Gilbert (A. R.). See Little Books on Art.

Gloag (M. R.) and **Wyatt (Kate M.).** A BOOK OF ENGLISH GARDENS. With 24 Illustrations in Colour. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Godfrey (Elizabeth). A BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE. Being Lyrical Selections for every day in the Year. Arranged by. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

ENGLISH CHILDREN IN THE OLDEN TIME. With 32 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Godley (A. D.), M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. LYRA FRIVOLA. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

VERSES TO ORDER. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

SECOND STRINGS. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Goldsmith (Oliver). THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. With 10 Plates in Photogravure by Tony Johannot. *Leather, Fcap. 32mo. 2s. 6d. net.*

See also I.P.L. and Standard Library.

Gomme (G. L.). See Antiquary's Books.

Goodrich-Freer (A.). IN A SYRIAN SADDLE. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Gorst (Rt. Hon. Sir John). THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Goudge (H. L.), M.A., Principal of Wells Theological College. See Westminster Commentaries.

Graham (P. Anderson). THE RURAL EXODUS. The Problem of the Village and the Town. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Granger (F. S.), M.A., Litt.D. PSYCHOLOGY. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE SOUL OF A CHRISTIAN. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Gray (E. M'Queen). GERMAN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Gray (P. L.), B.Sc. THE PRINCIPLES OF MAGNETISM AND ELECTRICITY. With 181 Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Green (G. Buckland), M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxon. NOTES ON GREEK AND LATIN SYNTAX. *Second Ed. revised. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Greenidge (A.H. J.), M.A., D.Litt. A HISTORY OF ROME: From the Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the end of the Jugurthine War, B.C. 133-104. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Greenwell (Dora). See Miniature Library.

Gregory (R. A.). THE VAULT OF HEAVEN. A Popular Introduction to Astronomy. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Gregory (Miss E. C.). See Library of Devotion.

Grubb (H. C.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Hadfield (R. A.) and **Gibbins (H. de B.).** A SHORTER WORKING DAY. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Hall (Mary). A WOMAN'S TREK FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO. With 64 Illustrations and 2 Maps. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 16s. net.*

Hall (R. N.) and Neal (W. G.). THE ANCIENT RUINS OF RHODESIA. Illustrated. *Second Edition, revised. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Hall (R. N.). GREAT ZIMBABWE. With numerous Plans and Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Hamel (Frank). FAMOUS FRENCH SALONS. With 20 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Hamilton (F. J.), D.D. See Byzantine Texts.

Hannay (D.). A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL NAVY, 1200-1688. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Hannay (James O.), M.A. THE SPIRIT AND ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE WISDOM OF THE DESERT. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Hardie (Martin). See Connoisseur's Library.

Hare (A. T.), M.A. THE CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE INDUCTION COILS. With numerous Diagrams. *Demy 8vo. 6s.*

Harvey (Alfred), M.B. See Ancient Cities and Antiquary's Books.

Hawthorne (Nathaniel). See Little Library.

Heath (Frank R.). See Little Guides.

Heath (Dudley). See Connoisseur's Library.

Hello (Ernest). STUDIES IN SAINTSHIP. *Fcap 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Henderson (B. W.), Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR NERO. Illustrated. *New and cheaper issue. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

AT INTERVALS. *Fcap 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Henderson (M. Sturge). GEORGE MEREDITH: NOVELIST, POET, REFORMER. With a Portrait in Photogravure. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Henderson (T. F.). See Little Library and Oxford Biographies.

Henderson (T. F.), and Watt (Francis). SCOTLAND OF TO-DAY. With 20 Illustrations in colour and 24 other Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Henley (W. E.). ENGLISH LYRICS. CHAUCER TO POE, 1340-1849. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Henley (W. E.) and **Whibley (C.)** A BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE, CHARACTER, AND INCIDENT, 1387-1649. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Henson (H. H.), B.D., Canon of Westminster. LIGHT AND LEAVEN: HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SERMONS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Herbert (George). See Library of Devotion.

Herbert of Cherbury (Lord). See Miniature Library.

Hewins (W. A. S.), B.A. ENGLISH TRADE AND FINANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Hewitt (Ethel M.) A GOLDEN DIAL. A Day Book of Prose and Verse. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Hey (H.), Inspector, Surrey Education Committee, and **Rose (G. H.),** City and Guilds Woodwork Teacher. THE MANUAL TRAINING CLASSROOM: WOODWORK. Book I. *4to. 1s.*

Heywood (W.). See St. Francis of Assisi.

Hill (Clare). See Textbooks of Technology.

Hill (Henry), B.A., Headmaster of the Boy's High School, Worcester, Cape Colony. A SOUTH AFRICAN ARITHMETIC. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Hind (C. Lewis). DAYS IN CORNWALL. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PASCOE, and 20 other Illustrations and a Map. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hirst (F. W.) See Books on Business.

Hoare (J. Douglas). A HISTORY OF ARCTIC EXPLORATION. With 20 Illustrations & Maps. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Hobhouse (L. T.), late Fellow of C.C.C., Oxford. THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Hobson (J. A.), M.A. INTERNATIONAL TRADE: A Study of Economic Principles. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

PROBLEMS OF POVERTY. An Inquiry into the Industrial Condition of the Poor. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED. *Fourth Edition. Cr.8vo. 2s.6d.*

Hodgetts (E. A. Brayley). THE COURT OF RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. With 20 Illustrations. *Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. 24s. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Hodgkin (T.), D.C.L. See Leaders of Religion.

Hodgson (Mrs. W.) HOW TO IDENTIFY OLD CHINESE PORCELAIN. With 40 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Post 8vo. 6s.*

Holden-Stone (G. de). See Books on Business.

Holdich (Sir T. H.), K.C.I.E. THE INDIAN BORDERLAND: being a Personal Record of Twenty Years. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Holdsworth (W. S.), M.A. A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. *In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Holland (H. Scott), Canon of St. Paul's. See Newman (J. H.).

Hollway-Calthrop (H. C.), late of Balliol College, Oxford; Bursar of Eton College. PETRARCH: HIS LIFE, WORK, AND TIMES. With 24 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Holt (Emily). THE SECRET OF POPULARITY: How to Achieve Social Success. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Holyoake (G. J.). THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT OF TO-DAY. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Hone (Nathaniel J.). See Antiquary's Books.

Hook (A.) HUMANITY AND ITS PROBLEMS. *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Hoppner. See Little Galleries.

Horace. See Classical Translations.

Horsburgh (E. L. S.), M.A. WATERLOO: With Plans. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s.*
See also Oxford Biographies.

Horth (A. C.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Horton (R. F.), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.

Hosie (Alexander). MANCHURIA. With Illustrations and a Map. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

How (F. D.). SIX GREAT SCHOOLMASTERS. With Portraits and Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Howell (A. G. Ferrers). FRANCISCAN DAYS. Being Selections for every day in the year from ancient Franciscan writings. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Howell (G.). TRADE UNIONISM—NEW AND OLD. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Huggins (Sir William), K.C.B., O.M., D.C.L., F.R.S. THE ROYAL SOCIETY. With 25 Illustrations. *Wide Royal 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.*

Hughes (C. E.). THE PRAISE OF SHAKESPEARE. An English Anthology. With a Preface by SIDNEY LEE. *Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Hughes (Thomas). TOM BROWN'S SCHOOLDAYS. With an Introduction and Notes by VERNON RENDALL. *Leather. Royal 32mo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Hutchinson (Horace G.) THE NEW FOREST. Illustrated in colour with 50 Pictures by WALTER TYNDALE and 4 by LUCY KEMP-WELCH. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hutton (A. W.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion and Library of Devotion.

Hutton (Edward). THE CITIES OF UMBRIA. With 20 Illustrations in Colour by A. PISA, and 12 other Illustrations. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE CITIES OF SPAIN. With 24 Illustrations in Colour, by A. W. RIMINGTON, 20 other Illustrations and a Map. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

FLORENCE AND THE CITIES OF NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PARKINSON, and 16 other Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

ENGLISH LOVE POEMS. Edited with an Introduction. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Hutton (R. H.). See Leaders of Religion.

Hutton (W. H.), M.A. THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE. With Portraits after Drawings by HOLBEIN. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 5s.*
See also Leaders of Religion.

Hyde (A. G.) GEORGE HERBERT AND HIS TIMES. With 32 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Hyett (F. A.). FLORENCE: HER HISTORY AND ART TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Ibsen (Henrik). BRAND. A Drama. Translated by WILLIAM WILSON. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Inge (W. R.), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. (The Bampton Lectures of 1899.) *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
See also Library of Devotion.

Ingham (B. P.). See Simplified French Texts.

Innes (A. D.), M.A. A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA. With Maps and Plans. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS. With Maps. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Jackson (C. E.), B.A., Senior Physics Master Bradford Grammar School.
of Science.

Jackson (S.), M.A. See Commercial Series.

Jackson (F. Hamilton). See Little Guides.

Jacob (F.), M.A. See Junior Examination Series.

James (W. H. N.). See Brooks (E. E.).

Jeans (J. Stephen). TRUSTS, POOLS, AND CORNERS AS AFFECTING COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
See also Books on Business.

Jebb (Camilla). A STAR OF THE SALONS: JULIE DE LESPINASSE. With 20 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Jeffery (Reginald W.), M.A. THE THIRTEEN COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA. With 8 Illustrations and a Map. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Jeffreys (D. Gwyn). DOLLY'S THEATRICALS. *Super Royal 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

Jenks (E.), M.A., B.C.L. AN OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Second Ed.* Revised by R. C. K. ENSOR, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Jenner (Mrs. H.). See Little Books on Art.

Jennings (Oscar), M.D. EARLY WOOD-CUT INITIALS. *Demy 4to. 21s. net.*

Jessopp (Augustus), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.

Jevons (F. B.), M.A., Litt.D., Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. RELIGION IN EVOLUTION. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
See also Churchman's Library and Handbooks of Theology.

Johnson (Mrs. Barham). WILLIAM BODHAM DONNE AND HIS FRIENDS. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Johnston (Sir H. H.), K.C.B. BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA. With nearly 200 Illustrations and Six Maps. *Third Edition. Cr. 4to. 18s. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Jones (H.). See Commercial Series.

Jones (H. F.). See Textbooks of Science.

Jones (L. A. Atherley), K.C., M.P., and **Bellot (Hugh H. L.),** M.A., D.C.L. THE MINER'S GUIDE TO THE COAL MINES REGULATION ACTS AND THE LAW OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

COMMERCE IN WAR. *Royal 8vo. 21s. net.*

Jones (R. Compton), M.A. POEMS OF THE INNER LIFE. Selected by. *Thirteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Jonson (Ben). See Standard Library.

Juliana (Lady) of Norwich. REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE. Ed. by GRACE WARRACK. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Juvenal. See Classical Translations.

'Kappa.' LET YOUTH BUT KNOW: A Plea for Reason in Education. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Kaufmann (M.), M.A. SOCIALISM AND MODERN THOUGHT. *Second Edition Revised and Enlarged. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Keats (John). THE POEMS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by E. de SELINCOURT, M.A. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Second Edition Revised. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

REALMS OF GOLD. Selections from the Works of. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
See also Little Library and Standard Library.

Keble (John). THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. With an Introduction and Notes by W. LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College. Illustrated by R. ANNING BELL. *Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; padded morocco, 5s.*
See also Library of Devotion.

Kelynack (T. N.), M.D., M.R.C.P. THE DRINK PROBLEM IN ITS MEDICO-SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT. By fourteen Medical Authorities. Edited by. With 2 Diagrams. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Kempis (Thomas à). THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. With an Introduction by DEAN FARRAR. Illustrated by C. M. GERE. *Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; padded morocco. 5s.*
Also Translated by C. BIGG, D.D. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
See also Montmorency (J. E. G. de)., Library of Devotion, and Standard Library.

Kennedy (Bart.). THE GREEN SPHINX. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Kennedy (James Houghton), D.D., Assistant Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin. ST. PAUL'S SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS. With Introduction, Dissertations and Notes. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Kimmins (C. W.), M.A. THE CHEMISTRY OF LIFE AND HEALTH. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Kinglake (A. W.). See Little Library.

Kipling (Rudyard). BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS. *89th Thousand. Twenty-fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Leather. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE SEVEN SEAS. *77th Thousand. Fourteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Leather. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE FIVE NATIONS. *65th Thousand. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Leather. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. *Seventeenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Leather. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Knight (Albert E.). THE COMPLETE CRICKETER. With 50 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Knight (H. J. C.), B.D. See Churchman's Bible.

Knowling (R. J.), M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London. See Westminster Commentaries.

Lamb (Charles and **Mary),** THE WORKS. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. Illustrated. *In Seven Volumes. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. each.*
See also Little Library and Lucas (E. V.)

Lambert (F. A. H.). See Little Guides.

Lambros (Professor S. P.). See Byzantine Texts.

Lane-Poole (Stanley). A HISTORY OF EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Fully Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Langbridge (F.), M.A. BALLADS OF THE BRAVE: Poems of Chivalry, Enterprise, Courage, and Constancy. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Law (William). See Library of Devotion and Standard Library.

Leach (Henry). THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE. A Biography. With 12 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

THE SPIRIT OF THE LINKS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

See also Braid (James).

Le Braz (Anatole). THE LAND OF PARDONS. Translated by FRANCES M. GOSTLING. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by T. C. GOTCH, and 40 other Illustrations. *Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Lee (Captain L. Melville). A HISTORY OF POLICE IN ENGLAND. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Lewes (V. B.), M.A. AIR AND WATER. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Lewis (B. M. Gwyn). A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN SHRUBS. With 20 Illustrations. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Lisle (Fortunéede). See Little Books on Art.

Littlehales (H.). See Antiquary's Books.

Llewellyn (Owen) and Raven-Hill (L.). THE SOUTH-BOUND CAR. With 85 Illustrations. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Lock (Walter), D.D., Warden of Keble College. ST. PAUL, THE MASTER-BUILDER. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN LIFE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Keble (J.) and Leaders of Religion.

Locker (F.). See Little Library.

Lodge (Sir Oliver), F.R.S. THE SUBSTANCE OF FAITH ALLIED WITH SCIENCE: A Catechism for Parents and Teachers. *Ninth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 2s. net.*

Lofthouse (W. F.), M.A. ETHICS AND ATONEMENT. With a Frontispiece. *Demy 8vo. 5s. net.*

Longfellow (H. W.). See Little Library.

Lorimer (George Horace). LETTERS FROM A SELF-MADE MERCHANT TO HIS SON. *Seventeenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

OLD GORGON GRAHAM. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Lover (Samuel). See I.P.L.

E. V. L. and **C. L. G.** ENGLAND DAY BY DAY: Or, The Englishman's Handbook to Efficiency. Illustrated by GEORGE MORROW. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 4to. 1s. net.*

Lucas (E. V.). THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB. With 28 Illustrations. *Fourth and Revised Edition in One Volume. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

A WANDERER IN HOLLAND. With 20 Illustrations in Colour by HERBERT MARSHALL, 34 Illustrations after old Dutch Masters, and a Map. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

A WANDERER IN LONDON. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by NELSON DAWSON, 36 other Illustrations and a Map. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE OPEN ROAD: a Little Book for Wayfarers. *Fourteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.; India Paper, 7s. 6d.*

THE FRIENDLY TOWN: a Little Book for the Urbane. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.; India Paper, 7s. 6d.*

FIRESIDE AND SUNSHINE. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*

CHARACTER AND COMEDY. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*

THE GENTLEST ART. A Choice of Letters by Entertaining Hands. *Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*

A SWAN AND HER FRIENDS. With 24 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Lucian. See Classical Translations.

Lyde (L. W.), M.A. See Commercial Series.

Lydon (Noel S.). See Junior School Books.

Lyttelton (Hon. Mrs. A.). WOMEN AND THEIR WORK. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Macaulay (Lord). CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Edited by F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A. *Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 18s.*

M'Allen (J. E. B.), M.A. See Commercial Series.

MacCulloch (J. A.). See Churchman's Library.

MacCunn (Florence A.). MARY STUART. With 44 Illustrations, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *New and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Leaders of Religion.

McDermott (E. R.). See Books on Business.

M'Dowall (A. S.). See Oxford Biographies.

Mackay (A. M.), B.A. See Churchman's Library.

Mackenzie (W. Leslie), M.A., M.D., D.P.H., etc. THE HEALTH OF THE SCHOOL CHILD. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Macklin (Herbert W.), M.A. See Antiquary's Books.

M'Neile (A. H.), B.D. See Westminster Commentaries.

'Mdlle Mori' (Author of). ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA AND HER TIMES. With 28 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Magnus (Laurie), M.A. A PRIMER OF WORDSWORTH. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Mahaffy (J. P.), Litt.D. A HISTORY OF THE EGYPT OF THE PTOLEMIES. Fully Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Maitland (F. W.), M.A., LL.D. ROMAN CANON LAW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Major (H.), B.A., B.Sc. A HEALTH AND TEMPERANCE READER. *Cr. 8vo. 1s.*

Malden (H. E.), M.A. ENGLISH RECORDS. A Companion to the History of England. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF A CITIZEN. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

See also School Histories.

Marchant (E. C.), M.A., Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. A GREEK ANTHOLOGY *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

See also Cook (A. M.).

Marks (Jeannette), M.A. ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA from the Restoration to the date of the publication of the 'Lyrical Ballads' (1660-1798). *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Marr (J. E.), F.R.S., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SCENERY. *Third Edition.* Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

AGRICULTURAL GEOLOGY. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Marriott (J. A. R.), M.A. THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD FALKLAND. With 23 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Marvell (Andrew). See Little Library.

Masefield (John). SEA LIFE IN NELSON'S TIME. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

ON THE SPANISH MAIN: or, SOME ENGLISH FORAYS IN THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN. With 22 Illustrations and a Map. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

A SAILOR'S GARLAND. Selected and Edited by. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

AN ENGLISH PROSE MISCELLANY. Selected and Edited by. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Maskell (A.). See Connoisseur's Library.

Mason (A. J.), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.

Masterman (C. F. G.), M.A., M.P. TENNYSON AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Matheson (E. F.). COUNSELS OF LIFE. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

May (Phil). THE PHIL MAY ALBUM. *Second Edition. 4to. 1s. net.*

Meakin (Annette M. B.), Fellow of the Anthropological Institute. WOMAN IN TRANSITION. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Mellows (Emma S.). A SHORT STORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Methuen (A. M. S.), M.A. THE TRAGEDY OF SOUTH AFRICA. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. net. Also Cr. 8vo. 3d. net.*

ENGLAND'S RUIN: DISCUSSED IN SIXTEEN LETTERS TO A PROTECTIONIST. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3d. net.*

Miles (Eustace), M.A. LIFE AFTER LIFE: OR, THE THEORY OF REINCARNATION. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

THE POWER OF CONCENTRATION: HOW TO ACQUIRE IT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Millais (J. G.). THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, President of the Royal Academy. With many Illustrations, of which 2 are in Photogravure. *New Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

See also Little Galleries.

Millin (G. F.). PICTORIAL GARDENING. With 21 Illustrations. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Millis (C. T.), M.I.M.E. See Textbooks of Technology.

Milne (J. G.), M.A. A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. Fully Illustrated, *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Milton (John). See Little Library and Standard Library.

A DAY BOOK OF MILTON. Edited by R. F. TOWNDROW. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Minchin (H. C.), M.A. See Peel (R.).

Mitchell (P. Chalmers), M.A. OUTLINES OF BIOLOGY. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Mitton (G. E.). JANE AUSTEN AND HER TIMES. With 21 Illustrations. *Second and Cheaper Edition Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Moffat (Mary M.). QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA. With 20 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

'Moil (A.).' See Books on Business.

Moir (D. M.). See Little Library.

Molinos (Dr. Michael de). See Library of Devotion.

Money (L. G. Chiozza), M.P. RICHES AND POVERTY. *Eighth Edition. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.* Also *Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.*

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS. *Demy 8vo. 5s. net.*

Montagu (Henry), Earl of Manchester. See Library of Devotion.

Montaigne. A DAY BOOK OF. Edited by C. F. POND. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Montgomery (H. B.) THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST. With a Frontispiece in Colour and 16 other Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Montmorency (J. E. G. de), B.A., LL.B. THOMAS A KEMPIS, HIS AGE AND BOOK. With 22 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Moore (H. E.). BACK TO THE LAND. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Moorhouse (E. Hallam). NELSON'S LADY HAMILTON. With 51 Portraits. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Moran (Clarence G.). See Books on Business.

More (Sir Thomas). See Standard Library.

Morfill (W. R.), Oriel College, Oxford. A HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM PETER THE GREAT TO ALEXANDER II. With Maps and Plans. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Morich (R. J.), late of Clifton College. See School Examination Series.

Morley (Margaret W.), Founded on. THE BEE PEOPLE. With 74 Illustrations. *Sq. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

LITTLE MITCHELL: THE STORY OF A MOUNTAIN SQUIRREL TOLD BY HIMSELF. With many Illustrations. *Sq. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Morris (J.). THE MAKERS OF JAPAN. With 24 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Morris (Joseph E.). See Little Guides.

Morton (A. Anderson). See Brodrick (M.).

Moule (H. C. G.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. See Leaders of Religion.

Muir (M. M. Pattison), M.A. THE CHEMISTRY OF FIRE. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Mundella (V. A.), M.A. See Dunn (J. T.).

Munro (R.), M.A., LL.D. See Antiquary's Books.

Myers (A. Wallis), THE COMPLETE LAWN TENNIS PLAYER. With many Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Naval Officer (A). See I. P. L.

Neal (W. G.). See Hall (R. N.).

Newman (Ernest). HUGO WOLF. With 13 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Newman (George), M.D., D.P.H., F.R.S.E., INFANT MORTALITY, A SOCIAL PROBLEM. With 16 Diagrams. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Newman (J. H.) and others. See Library of Devotion.

Newsholme (Arthur), M.D., F.R.C.P. THE PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Nichols (Bowyer). See Little Library.

Nicklin (T.), M.A. EXAMINATION PAPERS IN THUCYDIDES. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

Nimrod. See I. P. L.

Norgate (G. Le Grys). THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT. With 53 Illustrations by JENNY WYLIE. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Norway (A. H.). NAPLES. PAST AND PRESENT. With 25 Coloured Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Novalis. THE DISCIPLES AT SAÏS AND OTHER FRAGMENTS. Edited by Miss UNA BIRCH. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Officer (An). See I. P. L.

Oldfield (W. J.), M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln. A PRIMER OF RELIGION. BASED ON THE CATECHISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Oldham (F. M.), B.A. See Textbooks of Science.

Oliphant (Mrs.). See Leaders of Religion.

Oliver, Thomas, M.D. DISEASES OF OCCUPATION. With Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Oman (C. W. C.), M.A., Fellow of All Souls', Oxford. A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Ottley (R. L.), D.D. See Handbooks of Theology and Leaders of Religion.

Overton (J. H.). See Leaders of Religion.

Owen (Douglas). See Books on Business.

Oxford (M. N.), of Guy's Hospital. A HANDBOOK OF NURSING. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Pakes (W. C. C.). THE SCIENCE OF HYGIENE. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 15s.*

Parker (Gilbert), M.P. A LOVER'S DIARY. *Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
A volume of poems.

Parkes (A. K.). SMALL LESSONS ON GREAT TRUTHS. *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Parkinson (John). PARADISI IN SOLE PARADISUS TERRESTRIS, OR A GARDEN OF ALL SORTS OF PLEASANT FLOWERS. *Folio. £3, 3s. net.*

Parmenter (John). HELIO-TROPES, OR NEW POSIES FOR SUNDIALS. Edited by PERCIVAL LANDON. *Quarto. 3s. 6d. net.*

Parmentier (Prof. Leon). See Bidez (J.).

Parsons (Mrs. C.). GARRICK AND HIS CIRCLE. With 36 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Pascal. See Library of Devotion.

Paston (George). SOCIAL CARICATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With over 200 Illustrations. *Imperial Quarto. £2, 12s. 6d. net.*

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU AND HER TIMES With 24 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
See also Little Books on Art and I.P.L.

Paterson (W. R.) (Benjamin Swift). LIFE'S QUESTIONINGS. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Patterson (A. H.). NOTES OF AN EAST COAST NATURALIST. Illustrated in Colour by F. SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

NATURE IN EASTERN NORFOLK. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

WILD LIFE ON A NORFOLK ESTUARY. With 40 Illustrations by the Author, and a Prefatory Note by Her Grace the DUCHESS OF BEDFORD. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Peacock (Netta). See Little Books on Art.

Patterson (J. B.). See Simplified French Texts.

Peake (C. M. A.), F.R.H.S. A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN ANNUAL AND BIENNIAL PLANTS. With 24 Illustrations. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Peel (Robert), and **Minchin (H. C.)**, M.A. OXFORD. With 100 Illustrations in Colour. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Peel (Sidney), late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws. PRACTICAL LICENSING REFORM. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

Petrie (W. M. Flinders), D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Egyptology at University College. A HISTORY OF EGYPT. Fully Illustrated. *In six volumes. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s. each.*

VOL. I. FROM THE EARLIEST KINGS TO XVITH DYNASTY. *Sixth Edition.*

VOL. II. THE XVIITH AND XVIIITH DYNASTIES. *Fourth Edition.*

VOL. III. XIXTH TO XXXTH DYNASTIES.

VOL. IV. THE EGYPT OF THE PTOLEMIES. J. P. MAHAFFY, Litt.D.

VOL. V. ROMAN EGYPT. J. G. MILNE, M.A.

VOL. VI. EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A.

RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. Lectures delivered at University College, London. Illustrated. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

SYRIA AND EGYPT, FROM THE TELL EL AMARNA TABLETS. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. First Series, IVth to XIIth Dynasty. Edited by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. Illustrated by TRISTRAM ELLIS. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. Second Series. XVIIIth to XIXth Dynasty. Illustrated by TRISTRAM ELLIS. *Crown* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

EGYPTIAN DECORATIVE ART. A Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution. Illustrated. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Phillips (W. A.). See Oxford Biographies.

Phillpotts (Eden). MY DEVON YEAR. With 38 Illustrations by J. LEY PETHYBRIDGE. *Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

UP ALONG AND DOWN ALONG. Illustrated by CLAUDE SHEPPERSON. *Cr.* 4*to.* 5*s. net.*

Phythian (J. Ernest). TREES IN NATURE, MYTH, AND ART. With 24 Illustrations. *Crown* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Plarr (Victor G.). See School Histories.

Plato. See Standard Library.

Plautus. THE CAPTIVI. Edited, with an Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary, by W. M. LINDSAY, Fell of Jesus College, Oxford. *Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Plowden-Wardlaw (J. T.), B.A., King's College, Cambridge. See School Examination Series.

Podmore (Frank). MODERN SPIRITUALISM. *Two Volumes. Demy* 8*vo.* 21*s. net.*

Pollard (Alice). See Little Books on Art.

Pollard (Eliza F.). See Little Books on Art.

Pollock (David), M.I.N.A. See Books on Business.

Potter (M. C.), M.A., F.L.S. AN ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL BOTANY. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Power (J. O'Connor). THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Prescott (O. L.). ABOUT MUSIC, AND WHAT IT IS MADE OF. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

Price (Eleanor C.). A PRINCESS OF THE OLD WORLD. With 21 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Price (L. L.), M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxon. A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POLITICAL ECONOMY FROM ADAM SMITH TO ARNOLD TOYNBEE. *Fifth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Protheroe (Ernest). THE DOMINION OF MAN. GEOGRAPHY IN ITS HUMAN ASPECT. With 32 full-page Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.*

Quevedo Villegas. See Miniature Library.

'Q' (A. T. Quiller Couch). THE GOLDEN POMP. A PROCESSION OF ENGLISH LYRICS FROM SURREY TO SHIRLEY. *Second and Cheaper Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

G. R. and **E. S.** MR. WOODHOUSE'S CORRESPONDENCE. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Rackham (R. B.), M.A. See Westminster Commentaries.

Ragg (Laura M.). THE WOMEN ARTISTS OF BOLOGNA. With 20 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Ragg (Lonsdale). B.D., Oxon. DANTE AND HIS ITALY. With 32 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Rahtz (F. J.), M.A., B.Sc., Lecturer in English at Merchant Venturers' Technical College, Bristol. HIGHER ENGLISH. *Fourth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Randolph (B. W.), D.D. See Library of Devotion.

Rannie (D. W.), M.A. A STUDENT'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

WORDSWORTH AND HIS CIRCLE. With 20 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Rashdall (Hastings), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. DOCTRINE AND DEVELOPMENT. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Raven (J. J.), D.D., F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books.

Raven-Hill (L.). See Llewellyn (Owen).

Rawstorne (Lawrence, Esq.). See I.P.L.

Raymond (Walter). See School Histories.

***Rea (Lilian).** MADAME DE LA FAYETTE. With many Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Real Paddy (A). See I.P.L.

Reason (W.), M.A. UNIVERSITY AND SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS. Edited by. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Redpath (H. A.), M.A., D.Litt. See Westminster Commentaries.

Rees (J. D.), C.I.E., M.P. THE REAL INDIA. *Second Edition. Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

***Reich (Emil),** Doctor Juris. WOMAN THROUGH THE AGES. With 24 Illustrations. *Two Volumes. Demy* 8*vo.* 21*s. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Reynolds (Sir Joshua). See Little Galleries.

Rhoades (J. F.). See Simplified French Texts.

Rhodes (W. E.). See School Histories.

Rieu (H.), M.A. See Simplified French Texts.

Roberts (M. E.). See Channer (C. C.).

Robertson (A.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Exeter. REGNUM DEI. (The Bampton Lectures of 1901). *A New and Cheaper Edition. Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Robertson (C. Grant). M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. SELECT STATUTES, CASES, AND CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1660-1832. *Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Robertson (C. Grant) and **Bartholomew (J. G.),** F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. A HISTORICAL AND MODERN ATLAS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. *Demy Quarto.* 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

Robinson (A. W.), M.A. See Churchman's Bible.

Robinson (Cecilia). THE MINISTRY OF DEACONESSES. With an Introduction by the late Archbishop of Canterbury. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Robinson (F. S.). See Connoisseur's Library.

Rochefoucauld (La). See Little Library.

Rodwell (G.), B.A. NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. A Course for Beginners. With a Preface by WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College. *Fcap.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Roe (Fred). OLD OAK FURNITURE. With many Illustrations by the Author, including a frontispiece in colour. *Second Edition. Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Rogers (A. G. L.), M.A. See Books on Business.

Romney (George). See Little Galleries.

Roscoe (E. S.). See Little Guides.

Rose (Edward). THE ROSE READER. Illustrated. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. Also in* 4 *Parts. Parts I. and II.* 6*d. each; Part III.* 8*d.; Part IV.* 10*d.*

Rose (G. H.). See **Hey (H.),** and **Baring-Gould (S).**

Rowntree (Joshua). THE IMPERIAL DRUG TRADE. A RE-STATEMENT OF THE OPIUM QUESTION. *Third Edition Revised. Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s. net.*

Royde-Smith (N. G.). THE PILLOW BOOK: A GARNER OF MANY MOODS. Collected by. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

POETS OF OUR DAY. Selected, with an Introduction, by. *Fcap.* 8*vo.* 5*s.*

Rubie (A. E.), D.D. See Junior School Books.

Russell (Archibald G. B.). See Blake (William).

Russell (W. Clark). THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD. With Illustrations by F. BRANGWYN. *Fourth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Ryley (M. Beresford). QUEENS OF THE RENAISSANCE. With 24 Illustrations. *Demy* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Sainsbury (Harrington), M.D., F.R.C.P. PRINCIPIA THERAPEUTICA. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

St. Anselm. See Library of Devotion.

St. Augustine. See Library of Devotion.

St. Bernard. See Library of Devotion.

St. Cyres (Viscount). See Oxford Biographies.

St. Francis of Assisi. THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF THE GLORIOUS MESSER, AND OF HIS FRIARS. Done into English, with Notes by WILLIAM HEYWOOD. With 40 Illustrations from Italian Painters. *Demy* 8*vo.* 5*s. net.*
See also Wheldon (F. W.), Library of Devotion and Standard Library.

St. Francis de Sales. See Library of Devotion.

'Saki' (H. Munro). REGINALD. *Second Edition. Fcap.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

Salmon (A. L.). See Little Guides.

Sathas (C.). See Byzantine Texts.

Schmitt (John). See Byzantine Texts.

Schofield (A. T.), M.D., Hon. Phys. Freidenham Hospital. FUNCTIONAL NERVE DISEASES. *Demy* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Scudamore (Cyril). See Little Guides.

Sélincourt (E. de.) See Keats (John).

Sells (V. P.), M.A. THE MECHANICS OF DAILY LIFE. Illustrated. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Selous (Edmund). TOMMY SMITH'S ANIMALS. Illustrated by G. W. ORD. *Tenth Edition. Fcap.* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*
School Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

TOMMY SMITH'S OTHER ANIMALS. Illustrated by AUGUSTA GUEST. *Fourth Edition. Fcap.* 8*vo.* 2*s* 6*d.*
School Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Senter (George), B.Sc. (Lond.), Ph.D. See Textbooks of Science.

Shakespeare (William).

THE FOUR FOLIOS, 1623; 1632; 1664; 1685. Each £4, 4*s. net,* or a complete set, £12, 12*s. net.*
Folios 3 and 4 are ready.
Folio 2 is nearly ready.

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. With an Introduction and Notes by GEORGE WYNDHAM. *Demy* 8*vo. Buckram, gilt top,* 10*s.* 6*d.*
See also Arden Shakespeare, Standard Library and Little Quarto Shakespeare.

Sharp (A.). VICTORIAN POETS. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Sharp (Cecil). See Baring-Gould (S.).

Sharp (Elizabeth). See Little Books on Art.

Shedlock (J. S.) THE PIANOFORTE SONATA. *Cr. 8vo. 5s.*

Shelley (Percy B.). See Standard Library.

Sheppard (H. F.), M.A. See Baring-Gould (S.).

Sherwell (Arthur), M.A. LIFE IN WEST LONDON. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Shipley (Mary E.). AN ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY FOR CHILDREN. With a Preface by the Bishop of Gibraltar. With Maps and Illustrations. Part I. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

Sichel (Walter). See Oxford Biographies.

Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred). HOME LIFE IN GERMANY. With 16 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Sime (John). See Little Books on Art.

Simonson (G. A.). FRANCESCO GUARDI. With 41 Plates. *Imperial 4to. £2, 2s. net.*

Sketchley (R. E. D.). See Little Books on Art.

Skipton (H. P. K.). See Little Books on Art.

Sladen (Douglas). SICILY: The New Winter Resort. With over 200 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Small (Evan), M.A. THE EARTH. An Introduction to Physiography. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Smallwood (M. G.). See Little Books on Art.

Smedley (F. E.). See I.P.L.

Smith (Adam). THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. Edited with an Introduction and numerous Notes by EDWIN CANNAN, M.A. *Two volumes. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.*

Smith (H. Clifford). See Connoisseur's Library.

Smith (Horace and James). See Little Library.

Smith (H. Bompas), M.A. A NEW JUNIOR ARITHMETIC. *Crown 8vo.* Without Answers, *2s.* With Answers, *2s. 6d.*

Smith (R. Mudie). THOUGHTS FOR THE DAY. Edited by. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Smith (Nowell C.). See Wordsworth (W).

Smith (John Thomas). A BOOK FOR A RAINY DAY: Or, Recollections of the Events of the Years 1766-1833. Edited by WILFRED WHITTEN. Illustrated. *Wide Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Snell (F. J.). A BOOK OF EXMOOR. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Snowden (C. E.). A HANDY DIGEST OF BRITISH HISTORY. *Demy 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

Sophocles. See Classical Translations.

Sornet (L. A.), and **Acatos (M. J.)** See Junior School Books.

South (E. Wilton), M.A. See Junior School Books

Southey (R.). ENGLISH SEAMEN Edited by DAVID HANNAY.
Vol. I. (Howard, Clifford, Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish). *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Vol. II. (Richard Hawkins, Grenville, Essex, and Raleigh). *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Standard Library.

Spence (C. H.), M.A. See School Examination Series.

Spicer (A. Dykes), M.A. THE PAPER TRADE. A Descriptive and Historical Survey. With Diagrams and Plans. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Spooner (W. A.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion.

Spragge (W. Horton), M.A. See Junior School Books.

Staley (Edgcumbe). THE GUILDS OF FLORENCE. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Royal 8vo. 16s. net.*

Stanbridge (J. W.), B.D. See Library of Devotion.

'Stancliffe.' GOLF DO'S AND DONT'S. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.*

Stead (D. W.). See Gallaher (D.).

Stedman (A. M. M.), M.A.

INITIA LATINA: Easy Lessons on Elementary Accidence. *Eleventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.*

FIRST LATIN LESSONS. *Eleventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

FIRST LATIN READER. With Notes adapted to the Shorter Latin Primer and Vocabulary. *Seventh Edition. 18mo. 1s. 6d.*

EASY SELECTIONS FROM CÆSAR. The Helvetian War. *Fourth Edition. 18mo. 1s.*

EASY SELECTIONS FROM LIVY. The Kings of Rome. *Second Edition. 18mo. 1s. 6d.*

EASY LATIN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Twelfth Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

EXEMPLA LATINA. First Exercises in Latin Accidence. With Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s.*

EASY LATIN EXERCISES ON THE SYNTAX OF THE SHORTER AND REVISED LATIN PRIMER. With Vocabulary. *Twelfth and Cheaper Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.* KEY, *3s. net.*

THE LATIN COMPOUND SENTENCE: Rules and Exercises. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.* With Vocabulary. *2s.*

NOTANDA QUAEDAM: Miscellaneous Latin Exercises on Common Rules and Idioms. *Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.* With Vocabulary. *2s.* KEY, *2s. net.*

LATIN VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION: Arranged according to Subjects. *Sixteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

A VOCABULARY OF LATIN IDIOMS. *18mo. Fourth Edition. 1s.*

STEPS TO GREEK. *Third Edition, revised. 18mo. 1s.*

A SHORTER GREEK PRIMER. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

EASY GREEK PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Fourth Edition, revised. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

GREEK VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION. Arranged according to Subjects. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s 6d.*

GREEK TESTAMENT SELECTIONS. For the use of Schools. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

STEPS TO FRENCH. *Eighth Edition. 18mo. 8d.*

FIRST FRENCH LESSONS. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s.*

EASY FRENCH PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

EASY FRENCH EXERCISES ON ELEMENTARY SYNTAX. With Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

KEY. *3s. net.*

FRENCH VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION: Arranged according to Subjects. *Thirteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.*

See also School Examination Series.

Steel (R. Elliott), M.A., F.C.S. THE WORLD OF SCIENCE. With 147 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

See also School Examination Series.

Stephenson (C.), of the Technical College, Bradford, and **Suddards (F.)** of the Yorkshire College, Leeds. A TEXTBOOK DEALING WITH ORNAMENTAL DESIGN FOR WOVEN FABRICS. With 66 full-page Plates and numerous Diagrams in the Text. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Stephenson (J.), M.A. THE CHIEF TRUTHS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Sterne (Laurence). See Little Library.

Steuart (Katherine). BY ALLAN WATER. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

RICHARD KENNOWAY AND HIS FRIENDS. A Sequel to 'By Allan Water.' *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Stevenson (R. L.) THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON TO HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS. Selected and Edited by SIDNEY COLVIN. *Eighth Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo. 12s.*

LIBRARY EDITION. *2 vols. Demy 8vo. 25s. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

VAILIMA LETTERS. With an Etched Portrait by WILLIAM STRANG. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. Buckram. 6s.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE LIFE OF R. L. STEVENSON. See Balfour (G.).

Stevenson (M. I.). FROM SARANAC TO THE MARQUESAS. Being Letters written by Mrs. M. I. STEVENSON during 1887-8. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

LETTERS FROM SAMOA, 1891-95. Edited and arranged by M. C. BALFOUR. With many Illustrations. *Second Edition Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

A Colonial Edition is also published.

Stoddart (Anna M.). See Oxford Biographies.

Stokes (F. G.), B.A. HOURS WITH RABELAIS. From the translation of SIR T. URQUHART and P. A. MOTTEUX. With a Portrait in Photogravure. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Stone (S. J.). POEMS AND HYMNS. With a Memoir by F. G. ELLERTON, M.A. With Portrait. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Storr (Vernon F.), M.A., Canon of Winchester. DEVELOPMENT AND DIVINE PURPOSE *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Story (Alfred T.). AMERICAN SHRINES IN ENGLAND. With many Illustrations, including two in Colour by A. R. QUINTON. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

See also Little Guides.

Straker (F.). See Books on Business.

Streane (A. W.), D.D. See Churchman's Bible.

Streatfeild (R. A.). MODERN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS. With 24 Illustrations. *Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Stroud (Henry), D.Sc., M.A. ELEMENTARY PRACTICAL PHYSICS. With 115 Diagrams. *Second Edit., revised. 4s. 6d.*

Sturch (F.), Staff Instructor to the Surrey County Council. MANUAL TRAINING DRAWING (WOODWORK). With Solutions to Examination Questions, Orthographic, Isometric and Oblique Projection. With 50 Plates and 140 Figures. *Foolscap. 5s. net.*

Suddards (F.). See Stephenson (C.).

Surtees (R. S.). See I.P.L.

Sutherland (William). OLD AGE PENSIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, WITH SOME FOREIGN EXAMPLES. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Symes (J. E.), M.A. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Sympson (E. Mansel), M.A., M.D. See Ancient Cities.

Tabor (Margaret E.). THE SAINTS IN ART. With 20 Illustrations. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Tacitus. AGRICOLA. Edited by R. F. DAVIS, M.A. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s.*

GERMANIA. By the same Editor. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s.*

See also Classical Translations.

Tallack (W.). HOWARD LETTERS AND MEMORIES. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Tatham (Frederick). See Blake (William).

Tauler (J.). See Library of Devotion.

Taylor (A. E.). THE ELEMENTS OF METAPHYSICS. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Taylor (F. G.), M.A. See Commercial Series.

Taylor (I. A.). See Oxford Biographies.

Taylor (John W.). THE COMING OF THE SAINTS. With 26 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Taylor (T. M.), M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. A CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF ROME. To the Reign of Domitian. *Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Teasdale-Buckell (G. T.). THE COMPLETE SHOT. With 53 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Tennyson (Alfred, Lord). EARLY POEMS. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

IN MEMORIAM, MAUD, AND THE PRINCESS. Edited by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Little Library.

Terry (C. S.). See Oxford Biographies.

Thackeray (W. M.). See Little Library.

Theobald (F. V.), M.A. INSECT LIFE. Illustrated. *Second Edition Revised. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Thibaudeau (A. C.). BONAPARTE AND THE CONSULATE. Translated and Edited by G. K. FORTESQUE, LL.D. With 12 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Thompson (A. H.). See Little Guides.

Thompson (A. P.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Tileston (Mary W.). DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. *Fifteenth Edition. Medium 16mo. 2s. 6d. net.* Also an edition in superior binding, 6s.

Tompkins (H. W.), F.R.H.S. See Little Books on Art and Little Guides.

Toynbee (Paget), M.A., D.Litt. IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF DANTE. A Treasury of Verse and Prose from the works of Dante. *Small Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.*
See also Oxford Biographies and Dante.

Trench (Herbert). DEIRDRE WEDDED AND OTHER POEMS. *Second and Revised Edition. Large Post 8vo. 6s.*

NEW POEMS. *Second Edition. Large Post 8vo. 6s.*

Trevelyan (G. M.), Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS. With Maps and Plans. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Troutbeck (G. E.). See Little Guides.

Tyler (E. A.), B.A., F.C.S. See Junior School Books.

Tyrrell-Gill (Frances). See Little Books on Art.

Vardon (Harry). THE COMPLETE GOLFER. With 63 Illustrations. *Ninth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Vaughan (Henry). See Little Library.

Vaughan (Herbert M.), B.A. (Oxon.). THE LAST OF THE ROYAL STUARTS, HENRY STUART, CARDINAL, DUKE OF YORK. With 20 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

THE NAPLES RIVIERA. With 25 Illustrations in Colour by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Vernon (Hon. W. Warren), M.A. READINGS ON THE INFERNO OF DANTE. With an Introduction by the Rev. Dr. MOORE. *In Two Volumes. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.*

READINGS ON THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE. With an Introduction by the late DEAN CHURCH. *In Two Volumes. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.*

Vincent (J. E.). THROUGH EAST ANGLIA IN A MOTOR CAR. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., and a Map. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Voegelin (A.), M.A. See Junior Examination Series.

Waddell (Col. L. A.), LL.D., C.B. LHASA AND ITS MYSTERIES. With a Record of the Expedition of 1903–1904. With 155 Illustrations and Maps. *Third and Cheaper Edition. Medium 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

Wade (G. W.), D.D. OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. With Maps. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Wade (G. W.), D.D., **and Wade (J. H.)**, M.A. See Little Guides.

Wagner (Richard). RICHARD WAGNER'S MUSIC DRAMAS: Interpretations, embodying Wagner's own explanations. By ALICE LEIGHTON CLEATHER and BASIL CRUMP. *In Three Volumes. Fcap 8vo. 2s. 6d. each.*
VOL. I.—THE RING OF THE NIBELUNG. *Third Edition.*
VOL. II.—PARSIFAL, LOHENGRIN, and THE HOLY GRAIL.
VOL. III.—TRISTAN AND ISOLDE.

Walkley (A. B.). DRAMA AND LIFE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Wall (J. C.). See Antiquary's Books.

Wallace-Hadrill (F.), Second Master at Herne Bay College. REVISION NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY. *Cr. 8vo. 1s.*

Walters (H. B.). See Little Books on Art and Classics of Art.

Walton (F. W.). See School Histories.

Walton (Izaak) and **Cotton (Charles).** See I.P.L.

Walton (Izaak). See Little Library.

Waterhouse (Elizabeth). WITH THE SIMPLE-HEARTED: Little Homilies to Women in Country Places. *Second Edition. Small Pott 8vo. 2s. net.*
See also Little Library.

Watt (Francis). See Henderson (T. F.).

Weatherhead (T. C.), M.A. EXAMINATION PAPERS IN HORACE. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*
See also Junior Examination Series.

Webber (F. C.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Weir (Archibald), M.A. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Wells (Sidney H.) See Textbooks of Science.

Wells (J.), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College. OXFORD AND OXFORD LIFE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF ROME. *Ninth Edition.* With 3 Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
See also Little Guides.

Wesley (John). See Library of Devotion.

Wheldon (F. W.). A LITTLE BROTHER TO THE BIRDS. The life-story of St. Francis retold for children. With 15 Illustrations, 7 of which are by A. H. BUCKLAND. *Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Whibley (C.). See Henley (W. E.).

Whibley (L.), M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. GREEK OLIGARCHIES: THEIR ORGANISATION AND CHARACTER. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Whitaker (G. H.), M.A. See Churchman's Bible.

White (Gilbert). See Standard Library.

Whitfield (E. E.), M.A. See Commercial Series.

Whitehead (A. W.). GASPARD DE COLIGNY, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE. With Illustrations and Plans. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Whiteley (R. Lloyd), F.I.C., Principal of the Municipal Science School, West Bromwich. AN ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK OF INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Whitley (Miss). See Dilke (Lady).

Whitling (Miss L.), late Staff Teacher of the National Training School of Cookery. THE COMPLETE COOK. With 42 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial edition is also published.

Whitten (W.). See Smith (John Thomas).

Whyte (A. G.), B.Sc. See Books on Business.

Wilberforce (Wilfrid). See Little Books on Art.

Wilde (Oscar). DE PROFUNDIS. *Twelfth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.
THE WORKS.
A Uniform Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net each volume.
THE DUCHESS OF PADUA: A Play.
POEMS.
INTENTIONS and THE SOUL OF MAN.
SALOMÉ. A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, and VERA; or, THE NIHILISTS.
LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN: A Play about a Good Woman.
A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE: A Play.
AN IDEAL HUSBAND: A Play.
THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST: A Trivial Comedy for Serious People.
A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES, THE HAPPY PRINCE, and OTHER TALES.
LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME and OTHER PROSE PIECES.
DE PROFUNDIS.

Wilkins (W. H.), B.A. THE ALIEN INVASION. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Williams (A.). PETROL PETER: or Pretty Stories and Funny Pictures. Illustrated in Colour by A. W. MILLS. *Demy 4to. 3s. 6d. net.*

Williamson (M. G.), M.A. See Ancient Cities.

Williamson (W.), B.A. See Junior Examination Series, Junior School Books, and Beginner's Books.

Wilmot-Buxton (E. M.). MAKERS OF EUROPE. Outlines of European History for the Middle Forms of Schools. With 12 Maps. *Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE ANCIENT WORLD. With Maps and Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A BOOK OF NOBLE WOMEN. With 16 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN: FROM THE COMING OF THE ANGLES TO THE YEAR 1870. With 20 Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
See also Beginner's Books.

Wilson (Bishop.). See Library of Devotion.

Wilson (A. J.). See Books on Business.

Wilson (H. A.). See Books on Business.

Wilson (J. A.). See Simplified French Texts.

Wilton (Richard), M.A. LYRA PASTORALIS: Songs of Nature, Church, and Home. *Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Winbolt (S. E.), M.A. EXERCISES IN LATIN ACCIDENCE. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

LATIN HEXAMETER VERSE: An Aid to Composition. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.* KEY, *5s. net.*

Windle (B. C. A.), D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books, Little Guides, Ancient Cities, and School Histories.

Wood (Sir Evelyn), F.-M., V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. FROM MIDSHIPMAN TO FIELD-MARSHAL. With Illustrations, and 29 Maps. *Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Wood (J. A. E.). See Textbooks of Technology.

Wood (J. Hickory). DAN LENO. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Wood (W. Birkbeck), M.A., late Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, and **Edmonds (Major J. E.)**, R.E., D.A.Q.-M.G. A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES. With an Introduction by H. SPENSER WILKINSON. With 24 Maps and Plans. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

Wordsworth (Christopher), M.A. See Antiquary's Books.

Wordsworth (W.). THE POEMS OF. With an Introduction and Notes by NOWELL C. SMITH, late Fellow of New College, Oxford. *In Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

POEMS BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Selected with an Introduction by STOPFORD

A. BROOKE. With 40 Illustrations by E. H. NEW, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
See also Little Library.

Wordsworth (W.) and Coleridge (S. T.). See Little Library.

Wright (Arthur), D.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. See Churchman's Library.

Wright (C. Gordon). See Dante.

Wright (J. C.). TO-DAY. Thoughts on Life for every day. *Demy 16mo. 1s. 6d. net.*

Wright (Sophie). GERMAN VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION. *Fcap. 8vo 1s. 6d.*

Wyatt (Kate M.). See Gloag (M. R.).

Wylde (A. B.). MODERN ABYSSINIA. With a Map and a Portrait. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

Wyllie (M. A.). NORWAY AND ITS FJORDS. With 16 Illustrations, in Colour by W. L. WYLLIE, R.A., and 17 other Illustrations. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

Wyndham (George). See Shakespeare (William).

Yeats (W. B.). A BOOK OF IRISH VERSE. *Revised and Enlarged Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Young (Filson). THE COMPLETE MOTORIST. With 138 Illustrations. *New Edition (Seventh), with many additions. Demy. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
A Colonial Edition is also published.

THE JOY OF THE ROAD: An Appreciation of the Motor Car. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Small Demy 8vo. 5s. net.*

Zimmern (Antonia). WHAT DO WE KNOW CONCERNING ELECTRICITY? *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.*

Ancient Cities

General Editor, B. C. A. WINDLE, D.Sc., F.R.S.

Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

CHESTER. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc. F.R.S. Illustrated by E. H. New.

SHREWSBURY. By T. Auden, M.A., F.S.A. Illustrated by Katharine M. Roberts.

CANTERBURY. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. Illustrated by B. C. Boulter.

EDINBURGH. By M. G. Williamson, M.A. Illustrated by Herbert Railton.

LINCOLN. By E. Mansel Sympson, M.A., M.D. Illustrated by E. H. New.

BRISTOL. By Alfred Harvey, M.B. Illustrated by E. H. New.

DUBLIN. By S. A. O. Fitzpatrick. Illustrated by W. C. Green.

The Antiquary's Books

General Editor, J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A

Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

ENGLISH MONASTIC LIFE. By the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B. Illustrated. *Third Edition.*

REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations and Plans.

OLD SERVICE BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., and Henry Littlehales. With Coloured and other Illustrations.

CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES. By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. With numerous Illustrations and Plans.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND FALSE ANTIQUITIES. By R. Munro, LL.D. Illustrated.

SHRINES OF BRITISH SAINTS. By J. C. Wall. With numerous Illustrations and Plans.

THE ROYAL FORESTS OF ENGLAND. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. Illustrated.

THE MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS By Nathaniel J. Hone. Illustrated.

ENGLISH SEALS. By J. Harvey Bloom. Illustrated.

THE BELLS OF ENGLAND. By Canon J. J. Raven, D.D., F.S.A. With Illustrations. *Second Edition.*

PARISH LIFE IN MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND. By the Right Rev. Abbott Gasquet, O.S.B. With many Illustrations. *Second Edition.*

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST. By Adolphus Ballard, B.A., LL.B. With 27 Illustrations.

THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND. By Herbert W. Macklin, M.A. With many Illustrations. *Second Edition.*

ENGLISH CHURCH FURNITURE. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., and A. Harvey, M.B. *Second Edition.*

FOLK-LORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE. By G. L. Gomme. With many Illustrations.

*ENGLISH COSTUME. By George Clinch, F.G.S. With many Illustrations

The Arden Shakespeare

Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume.

An edition of Shakespeare in single Plays. Edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary at the foot of the page.

HAMLET. Edited by Edward Dowden. *Second Edition.*
ROMEO AND JULIET. Edited by Edward Dowden.
KING LEAR. Edited by W. J. Craig.
JULIUS CAESAR. Edited by M. Macmillan.
THE TEMPEST. Edited by Moreton Luce.
OTHELLO. Edited by H. C. Hart.
TITUS ANDRONICUS. Edited by H. B. Baildon.
CYMBELINE. Edited by Edward Dowden.
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. Edited by H. C. Hart.
A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Edited by H. Cuningham.
KING HENRY V. Edited by H. A. Evans.
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. Edited by W.O. Brigstocke.
THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. Edited by R. Warwick Bond.
TIMON OF ATHENS. Edited by K. Deighton.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE. Edited by H. C. Hart.
TWELFTH NIGHT. Edited by Moreton Luce.
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE. Edited by C. Knox Pooler.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. Edited by K. Deighton.
THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA. Edited by R. Warwick Bond.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. Edited by R. H. Case.
LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. Edited by H. C. Hart.
PERICLES. Edited by K. Deighton.
KING RICHARD III. Edited by A. H. Thompson.
THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN. Edited by Ivor B. John.
THE COMEDY OF ERRORS. Edited by Henry Cuningham.

The Beginner's Books

Edited by W. WILLIAMSON, B.A.

EASY FRENCH RHYMES. By Henri Blouet. *Second Edition.* Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. 1s.*
EASY STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. By E. M. Wilmot-Buxton. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s.*
STORIES FROM ROMAN HISTORY. By E. M. Wilmot-Buxton *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
A FIRST HISTORY OF GREECE. By E. E. Firth. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
EASY EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC. Arranged by W. S. Beard. *Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo.* Without Answers, *1s.* With Answers. *1s. 3d.*
EASY DICTATION AND SPELLING. By W. Williamson, B.A. *Seventh Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.*
AN EASY POETRY BOOK. Selected and arranged by W. Williamson, B.A. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s.*

Books on Business

Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

PORTS AND DOCKS. By Douglas Owen.
RAILWAYS. By E. R. McDermott.
THE STOCK EXCHANGE. By Chas. Duguid. *Second Edition.*
THE BUSINESS OF INSURANCE. By A. J. Wilson.
THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY: LIGHTING, TRACTION, AND POWER. By A. G. Whyte, B.Sc.
THE SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY: Its History, Practice, Science, and Finance. By David Pollock, M.I.N.A.
THE MONEY MARKET. By F. Straker.
THE BUSINESS SIDE OF AGRICULTURE. By A. G. L. Rogers, M.A.
LAW IN BUSINESS. By H. A. Wilson.
THE BREWING INDUSTRY. By Julian L. Baker, F.I.C., F.C.S. Illustrated.
THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. By G. de Holden-Stone.
MINING AND MINING INVESTMENTS. By 'A. Moil.'
THE BUSINESS OF ADVERTISING. By Clarence G. Moran, Barrister-at-Law. Illustrated.
TRADE UNIONS. By G. Drage.
CIVIL ENGINEERING. By T. Claxton Fidler, M.Inst. C.E. Illustrated.
THE IRON TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN. By J. Stephen Jeans. Illustrated.
MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS, AND KARTELLS. By F. W. Hirst.
THE COTTON INDUSTRY AND TRADE. By Prof. S. J. Chapman, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce in the University of Manchester. Illustrated.

Byzantine Texts

Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A., Litt.D.

THE SYRIAC CHRONICLE KNOWN AS THAT OF ZACHARIAH OF MITYLENE. Translated by F. J. Hamilton, D.D., and E. W. Brooks. *Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

EVAGRIUS. Edited by L. Bidez and Léon Parmentier. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

THE HISTORY OF PSELLUS. Edited by C. Sathas. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

ECTHESIS CHRONICA AND CHRONICON ATHENARUM. Edited by Professor S. P. Lambros. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

THE CHRONICLE OF MOREA. Edited by John Schmitt. *Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*

The Churchman's Bible

General Editor, J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net each.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE GALATIANS. Explained by A. W. Robinson, M.A. *Second Edition.*

ECCLESIASTES. Explained by A. W. Streane, D.D.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. Explained by C. R. D. Biggs, D.D. *Second Edition.*

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. Explained by H. W. Fulford M.A.

ISAIAH. Explained by W. E. Barnes, D.D. *Two Volumes.* With Map. *2s. net each.*

THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. Explained by G. H. Whitaker, M.A.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. Explained by J. C. Du Buisson, M.A. *2s. 6d. net.*

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS AND PHILEMON. Explained by H. J. C. Knight. *2s. net.*

The Churchman's Library

General Editor, J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY. By W. E. Collins, M.A. With Map.

THE WORKMANSHIP OF THE PRAYER BOOK: Its Literary and Liturgical Aspects. By J. Dowden, D.D. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.*

EVOLUTION. By F. B. Jevons, M.A., Litt.D.

SOME NEW TESTAMENT PROBLEMS. By Arthur Wright, D.D. *6s.*

THE CHURCHMAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. By A. M. Mackay, B.A. *Second Edition.*

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY. By J. A. MacCulloch. *6s.*

Classical Translations

Crown 8vo.

ÆSCHYLUS—The Oresteian Trilogy (Agamemnon, Choëphoroe, Eumenides). Translated by Lewis Campbell, LL.D. *5s.*

CICERO—De Oratore I. Translated by E. N. P. Moor, M.A. *Second Edition. 3s. 6d.*

CICERO—The Speeches against Cataline and Antony and for Murena and Milo. Translated by H. E. D. Blakiston, M.A. *5s.*

CICERO—De Natura Deorum. Translated by F. Brooks, M.A. *3s. 6d.*

CICERO—De Officiis. Translated by G. B. Gardiner, M.A. *2s. 6d.*

HORACE—The Odes and Epodes. Translated by A. D. Godley, M.A. *2s.*

LUCIAN—Six Dialogues Translated by S. T. Irwin, M.A. *3s. 6d.*

SOPHOCLES—Ajax and Electra. Translated by E. D. Morshead, M.A. *2s. 6d.*

TACITUS—Agricola and Germania. Translated by R. B. Townshend. *2s. 6d.*

JUVENAL—Thirteen Satires. Translated by S. G. Owen, M.A. *2s. 6d.*

Classics of Art

Edited by DR. J. H. W. LAING

THE ART OF THE GREEKS. By H. B. Walters. With 112 Plates and 18 Illustrations in the Text. *Wide Royal 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*

VELAZQUEZ. By A. de Beruete. With 94 Plates. *Wide Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

Commercial Series

Crown 8vo.

BRITISH COMMERCE AND COLONIES FROM ELIZABETH TO VICTORIA. By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 2*s.*

COMMERCIAL EXAMINATION PAPERS. By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE ECONOMICS OF COMMERCE. By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. *Second Edition.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

A GERMAN COMMERCIAL READER. By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. 2*s.*

A COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By L. W. Lyde, M.A. *Seventh Edition.* 2*s.*

A COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF FOREIGN NATIONS. By F. C. Boon, B.A. 2*s.*

A PRIMER OF BUSINESS. By S. Jackson, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

A SHORT COMMERCIAL ARITHMETIC. By F. G. Taylor, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

FRENCH COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE. By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition.* 2*s.*

GERMAN COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE. By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Second Edition.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

A FRENCH COMMERCIAL READER. By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Second Edition.* 2*s.*

PRECIS WRITING AND OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE. By E. E. Whitfield, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2*s.*

A ENTRANCE GUIDE TO PROFESSIONS AND BUSINESS. By H. Jones. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE PRINCIPLES OF BOOK-KEEPING BY DOUBLE ENTRY. By J. E. B. M'Allen, M.A. 2*s.*

COMMERCIAL LAW. By W. Douglas Edwards. *Second Edition.* 2*s.*

The Connoisseur's Library

Wide Royal 8vo. 25*s. net.*

MEZZOTINTS. By Cyril Davenport. With 40 Plates in Photogravure.

PORCELAIN. By Edward Dillon. With 19 Plates in Colour, 20 in Collotype, and 5 in Photogravure.

MINIATURES. By Dudley Heath. With 9 Plates in Colour, 15 in Collotype, and 15 in Photogravure.

IVORIES. By A. Maskell. With 80 Plates in Collotype and Photogravure.

ENGLISH FURNITURE. By F. S. Robinson. With 160 Plates in Collotype and one in Photogravure. *Second Edition.*

ENGLISH COLOURED BOOKS. By Martin Hardie. With 28 Illustrations in Colour and Collotype.

EUROPEAN ENAMELS. By Henry H. Cunynghame, C.B. With 54 Plates in Collotype and Half-tone and 4 Plates in Colour.

GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK. By Nelson Dawson. With many Plates in Collotype and a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Second Edition.*

GLASS. By Edward Dillon. With 37 Illustrations in Collotype and 12 in Colour.

SEALS. By Walter de Gray Birch. With 52 Illustrations in Collotype and a Frontispiece in Photogravure.

JEWELLERY. By H. Clifford Smith. With 50 Illustrations in Collotype, and 4 in Colour. *Second Edition.*

The Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books

Fcap 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d. net each volume.*

COLOURED BOOKS

OLD COLOURED BOOKS. By George Paston. With 16 Coloured Plates. *Fcap. 8vo.* 2*s. net.*

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN MYTTON, ESQ. By Nimrod. With 18 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken and T. J. Rawlins. *Fourth Edition.*

THE LIFE OF A SPORTSMAN. By Nimrod. With 35 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken.

HANDLEY CROSS. By R. S. Surtees. With 17 Coloured Plates and 100 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech. *Second Edition.*

MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. By R. S. Surtees. With 13 Coloured Plates and 90 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech.

JORROCKS' JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES. By R. S. Surtees. With 15 Coloured Plates by H. Alken. *Second Edition.*

ASK MAMMA. By R. S. Surtees. With 13 Coloured Plates and 70 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE HUNTING FIELD. By R. S. Surtees. With 7 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken, and 43 Illustrations on Wood.

THE TOUR OF DR. SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF THE PICTURESQUE. By William Combe. With 30 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE TOUR OF DOCTOR SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF CONSOLATION. By William Combe. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE THIRD TOUR OF DOCTOR SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF A WIFE. By William Combe. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE HISTORY OF JOHNNY QUAE GENUS: the Little Foundling of the late Dr. Syntax. By the Author of 'The Three Tours.' With 24 Coloured Plates by Rowlandson.

THE ENGLISH DANCE OF DEATH, from the Designs of T. Rowlandson, with Metrical Illustrations by the Author of 'Doctor Syntax.' *Two Volumes.*

This book contains 76 Coloured Plates.

[*Continued.*

ILLUSTRATED POCKET LIBRARY OF PLAIN AND COLOURED BOOKS—*continued.*

THE DANCE OF LIFE: A Poem. By the Author of 'Doctor Syntax.' Illustrated with 26 Coloured Engravings by T. Rowlandson.

LIFE IN LONDON: or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq., and his Elegant Friend, Corinthian Tom. By Pierce Egan. With 36 Coloured Plates by I. R. and G. Cruikshank. With numerous Designs on Wood.

REAL LIFE IN LONDON: or, the Rambles and Adventures of Bob Tallyho, Esq., and his Cousin, The Hon. Tom Dashall. By an Amateur (Pierce Egan). With 31 Coloured Plates by Alken and Rowlandson, etc. *Two Volumes.*

THE LIFE OF AN ACTOR. By Pierce Egan. With 27 Coloured Plates by Theodore Lane, and several Designs on Wood.

THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. By Oliver Goldsmith. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE MILITARY ADVENTURES OF JOHNNY NEWCOME. By an Officer. With 15 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE NATIONAL SPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN. With Descriptions and 50 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken.

THE ADVENTURES OF A POST CAPTAIN. By A Naval Officer. With 24 Coloured Plates by Mr. Williams.

GAMONIA: or the Art of Preserving Game; and an Improved Method of making Plantations and Covers, explained and illustrated by Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq. With 15 Coloured Plates by T. Rawlins.

AN ACADEMY FOR GROWN HORSEMEN: Containing the completest Instructions for Walking, Trotting, Cantering, Galloping, Stumbling, and Tumbling. Illustrated with 27 Coloured Plates, and adorned with a Portrait of the Author. By Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.

REAL LIFE IN IRELAND, or, the Day and Night Scenes of Brian Boru, Esq., and his Elegant Friend, Sir Shawn O'Dogherty. By a Real Paddy. With 19 Coloured Plates by Heath, Marks, etc.

THE ADVENTURES OF JOHNNY NEWCOME IN THE NAVY. By Alfred Burton. With 16 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

THE OLD ENGLISH SQUIRE: A Poem. By John Careless, Esq. With 20 Coloured Plates after the style of T. Rowlandson.

THE ENGLISH SPY. By Bernard Blackmantle. An original Work, Characteristic, Satirical, Humorous, comprising scenes and sketches in every Rank of Society, being Portraits of the Illustrious, Eminent, Eccentric, and Notorious. With 72 Coloured Plates by R. CRUIKSHANK, and many Illustrations on wood. *Two Volumes.* *7s. net.*

PLAIN BOOKS

THE GRAVE: A Poem. By Robert Blair. Illustrated by 12 Etchings executed by Louis Schiavonetti from the original Inventions of William Blake. With an Engraved Title Page and a Portrait of Blake by T. Phillips, R.A. The illustrations are reproduced in photogravure.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. Invented and engraved by William Blake. These famous Illustrations—21 in number—are reproduced in photogravure.

WINDSOR CASTLE. By W. Harrison Ainsworth. With 22 Plates and 87 Woodcuts in the Text by George Cruikshank.

THE TOWER OF LONDON. By W. Harrison Ainsworth. With 40 Plates and 58 Woodcuts in the Text by George Cruikshank.

FRANK FAIRLEGH. By F. E. Smedley. With 30 Plates by George Cruikshank.

HANDY ANDY. By Samuel Lover. With 24 Illustrations by the Author.

THE COMPLEAT ANGLER. By Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With 14 Plates and 77 Woodcuts in the Text.

THE PICKWICK PAPERS. By Charles Dickens. With the 43 Illustrations by Seymour and Phiz, the two Buss Plates, and the 32 Contemporary Onwhyn Plates.

Junior Examination Series

Edited by A. M. M. STEDMAN, M.A. *Fcap.* 8*vo.* 1*s.*

JUNIOR FRENCH EXAMINATION PAPERS. By F. Jacob, M.A. *Second Edition.*

JUNIOR ENGLISH EXAMINATION PAPERS. By W. Williamson, B.A.

JUNIOR ARITHMETIC EXAMINATION PAPERS. By W. S. Beard. *Fifth Edition.*

JUNIOR ALGEBRA EXAMINATION PAPERS. By S. W Finn, M.A.

JUNIOR GREEK EXAMINATION PAPERS. By T. C. Weatherhead, M.A. KEY, 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

JUNIOR LATIN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By C. G. Botting, B.A. *Fifth Edition.* KEY, 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

JUNIOR GENERAL INFORMATION EXAMINATION PAPERS. By W. S. Beard. KEY, 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

JUNIOR GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATION PAPERS. By W. G. Baker, M.A.

JUNIOR GERMAN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. Voegelin, M.A.

Methuen's Junior School-Books

Edited by O. D. INSKIP, LL.D., and W. WILLIAMSON, B.A.

A CLASS-BOOK OF DICTATION PASSAGES. By W. Williamson, B.A. *Fourteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW. Edited by E. Wilton South, M.A. With Three Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. Edited by A. E. Rubie, D.D. With Three Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

A JUNIOR ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By W. Williamson, B.A. With numerous passages for parsing and analysis, and a chapter on Essay Writing. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

A JUNIOR CHEMISTRY. By E. A. Tyler, B.A., F.C.S. With 78 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Edited by A. E. Rubie, D.D. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

A JUNIOR FRENCH GRAMMAR. By L. A. Sornet and M. J. Acatos. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

ELEMENTARY EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE. PHYSICS by W. T. Clough, A.R.C.S. CHEMISTRY by A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. With 2 Plates and 154 Diagrams. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

A JUNIOR GEOMETRY. By Noel S. Lydon. With 276 Diagrams. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

ELEMENTARY EXPERIMENTAL CHEMISTRY. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. With 4 Plates and 109 Diagrams. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

A JUNIOR FRENCH PROSE. By R. R. N. Baron, M.A. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE. With an Introduction and Notes by William Williamson, B.A. With Three Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS. Edited by A. E. RUBIE, D.D. With Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

A JUNIOR GREEK HISTORY. By W. H. Spragge, M.A. With 4 Illustrations and 5 Maps. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

A SCHOOL LATIN GRAMMAR. By H. G. Ford, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

A JUNIOR LATIN PROSE. By H. N. Asman, M.A., B.D. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

Leaders of Religion

Edited by H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Canon of Westminster. *With Portraits. Cr. 8vo. 2s. net.*

CARDINAL NEWMAN. By R. H. Hutton.
JOHN WESLEY. By J. H. Overton, M.A.
BISHOP WILBERFORCE. By G. W. Daniell, M.A.
CARDINAL MANNING. By A. W. Hutton, M.A.
CHARLES SIMEON. By H. C. G. Moule, D.D.
JOHN KNOX. By F. MacCunn. *Second Edition.*
JOHN HOWE. By R. F. Horton, D.D.
THOMAS KEN. By F. A. Clarke, M.A.
GEORGE FOX, THE QUAKER. By T. Hodgkin, D.C.L. *Third Edition.*
JOHN KEBLE. By Walter Lock, D.D.
THOMAS CHALMERS. By Mrs. Oliphant.
LANCELOT ANDREWES. By R. L. Ottley, D.D. *Second Edition.*
AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY. By E. L. Cutts, D.D.
WILLIAM LAUD. By W. H. Hutton, M.A. *Third Edition.*
JOHN DONNE. By Augustus Jessopp, D.D.
THOMAS CRANMER. By A. J. Mason, D.D.
BISHOP LATIMER. By R. M. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, M.A.
BISHOP BUTLER. By W. A. Spooner, M.A.

The Library of Devotion

With Introductions and (where necessary) Notes.
Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s. ; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Sixth Edition.*

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST : called also the Ecclesiastical Music. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Fifth Edition.*

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Edited by Walter Lock, D.D. *Fourth Edition.*

LYRA INNOCENTIUM. Edited by Walter Lock, D.D. *Second Edition.*

THE TEMPLE. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. *Second Edition.*

A BOOK OF DEVOTIONS. Edited by J. W. Stanbridge, B.D. *Second Edition.*

A SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Fourth Ed.*

A GUIDE TO ETERNITY. Edited by J. W. Stanbridge, B.D.

THE INNER WAY. By J. Tauler. Edited by A. W. Hutton, M.A.

ON THE LOVE OF GOD. By St. Francis de Sales. Edited by W. J. Knox-Little, M.A.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID. Edited by B. W. Randolph, D.D.

LYRA APOSTOLICA. By Cardinal Newman and others. Edited by Canon Scott Holland, M.A., and Canon H. C. Beeching, M.A.

THE SONG OF SONGS. Edited by B. Blaxland, M.A.

THE THOUGHTS OF PASCAL. Edited by C. S. Jerram, M.A.

A MANUAL OF CONSOLATION FROM THE SAINTS AND FATHERS. Edited by J. H. Burn, B.D.

[*Continued.*

THE LIBRARY OF DEVOTION—*continued.*

THE DEVOTIONS OF ST. ANSELM. Edited by C. C. J. Webb, M.A.

GRACE ABOUNDING TO THE CHIEF OF SINNERS. By John Bunyan. Edited by S. C. Freer, M.A.

BISHOP WILSON'S SACRA PRIVATA. Edited by A. E. Burn, B.D.

LYRA SACRA: A Book of Sacred Verse. Edited by Canon H. C. Beeching, M.A. *Second Edition, revised.*

A DAY BOOK FROM THE SAINTS AND FATHERS. Edited by J. H. Burn, B.D.

A LITTLE BOOK OF HEAVENLY WISDOM. A Selection from the English Mystics. Edited by E. C. Gregory.

LIGHT, LIFE, and LOVE. A Selection from the German Mystics. Edited by W. R. Inge, M.A.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE. By St. Francis de Sales. Translated and Edited by T. Barns, M.A.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF THE GLORIOUS MESSER ST. FRANCIS AND OF HIS FRIARS. Done into English by W. Heywood. With an Introduction by A. G. Ferrers Howell.

MANCHESTER AL MONDO: a Contemplation of Death and Immortality. By Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester. With an Introduction by Elizabeth Waterhouse, Editor of 'A Little Book of Life and Death.'

THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE, which Disentangles the Soul and brings it by the Inward Way to the Fruition of Perfect Contemplation, and the Rich Treasure of Internal Peace. Written by Dr. Michael de Molinos, Priest. Translated from the Italian copy, printed at Venice, 1685. Edited with an Introduction by Kathleen Lyttelton. And a Note by Canon Scott Holland.

DEVOTIONS FOR EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK AND THE GREAT FESTIVALS. By John Wesley. Edited, with an Introduction by Canon C. Bodington.

PRECES PRIVATÆ. By Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. Selections from the Translation by Canon F. E. Brightman. Edited, with an Introduction, by A. E. Burn, D.D.

Little Books on Art

With many Illustrations. Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d. net.

Each volume consists of about 200 pages, and contains from 30 to 40 Illustrations, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure.

GREEK ART. H. B. Walters. *Fourth Edition.*
BOOKPLATES. E. Almack.
REYNOLDS. J. Sime. *Second Edition.*
ROMNEY. George Paston.
WATTS. R. E. D. Sketchley.
LEIGHTON. Alice Corkran.
VELASQUEZ. Wilfrid Wilberforce and A. R. Gilbert.
GREUZE AND BOUCHER. Eliza F. Pollard.
VANDYCK. M. G. Smallwood.
TURNER. Frances Tyrrell-Gill.
DÜRER. Jessie Allen.
HOLBEIN. Mrs. G. Fortescue.
BURNE-JONES. Fortunée de Lisle. *Third Edition.*
HOPPNER. H. P. K. Skipton.
REMBRANDT. Mrs. E. A. Sharp.
COROT. Alice Pollard and Ethel Birnstingl.
RAPHAEL. A. R. Dryhurst.
MILLET. Netta Peacock.
ILLUMINATED MSS. J. W. Bradley.
CHRIST IN ART. Mrs. Henry Jenner.
JEWELLERY. Cyril Davenport.
CLAUDE. E. Dillon.
THE ARTS OF JAPAN. E. Dillon. *Second Ed.*
ENAMELS. Mrs. Nelson Dawson.
MINIATURES. C. Davenport.
CONSTABLE. H. W. Tompkins.
OUR LADY IN ART. Mrs. H. L. Jenner.

The Little Galleries

Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d. net.

Each volume contains 20 plates in Photogravure, together with a short outline of the life and work of the master to whom the book is devoted.

A LITTLE GALLERY OF REYNOLDS.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF ROMNEY.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF HOPPNER.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF MILLAIS.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF ENGLISH POETS.

The Little Guides

With many Illustrations by E. H. NEW and other artists, and from photographs.

Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. net.; leather, 3s. 6d. net.

The main features of these Guides are (1) a handy and charming form; (2) illustrations from photographs and by well-known artists; (3) good plans and maps; (4) an

adequate but compact presentation of everything that is interesting in the natural features, history, archæology, and architecture of the town or district treated.

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS COLLEGES. By A. Hamilton Thompson. *Second Edition.*
OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES. By J. Wells, M.A. *Eighth Edition.*
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. By George Clinch.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By G. E. Troutbeck. *Second Edition.*

THE ENGLISH LAKES. By F. G. Brabant, M.A.
THE MALVERN COUNTRY. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S.
SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S. *Third Edition.*

NORTH WALES. By A. T. Story.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. By E. S. Roscoe.
CHESHIRE. By W. M. Gallichan.
CORNWALL. By A. L. Salmon.
DERBYSHIRE. By J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.
DEVON. By S. Baring-Gould.
DORSET. By Frank R. Heath. *Second Ed.*
HAMPSHIRE. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.
HERTFORDSHIRE. By H. W. Tompkins, F.R.H.S.
THE ISLE OF WIGHT. By G. Clinch.
KENT. By G. Clinch.
KERRY. By C. P. Crane.
MIDDLESEX. By John B. Firth.
NORFOLK. By W. A. Dutt.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. By Wakeling Dry.
OXFORDSHIRE. By F. G. Brabant, M.A.
SOMERSET. By G. W. and J. H. Wade.
SUFFOLK. By W. A. Dutt.
SURREY. By F. A. H. Lambert.
SUSSEX. By F. G. Brabant, M.A. *Second Edition.*
THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE. By J. E. Morris.
THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE. By J. E. Morris.

BRITTANY. By S. Baring-Gould.
NORMANDY. By C. Scudamore.
ROME By C. G. Ellaby.
SICILY. By F. Hamilton Jackson.

The Little Library

With Introductions, Notes, and Photogravure Frontispieces.

Small Pott 8vo. Each Volume, cloth, 1s. 6d. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

Anon. A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH LYRICS.
Austen (Jane). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. *Two Vols.*
NORTHANGER ABBEY. Edited by E. V. LUCAS.
Bacon (Francis). THE ESSAYS OF LORD BACON. Edited by EDWARD WRIGHT.
Barham (R. H.). THE INGOLDSBY LEGENDS. Edited by J. B. ATLAY. *Two Volumes.*
Barnett (Mrs. P. A.). A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE. *Second Edition.*
Beckford (William). THE HISTORY OF THE CALIPH VATHEK. Edited by E. DENISON ROSS.
Blake (William). SELECTIONS FROM WILLIAM BLAKE. Edited by M. PERUGINI.
Borrow (George). LAVENGRO. Edited by F. HINDES GROOME. *Two Volumes.*
THE ROMANY RYE. Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.
Browning (Robert). SELECTIONS FROM THE EARLY POEMS OF ROBERT BROWNING. Edited by W. HALL GRIFFIN, M.A.
Canning (George). SELECTIONS FROM THE ANTI-JACOBIN: with GEORGE CANNING'S additional Poems. Edited by LLOYD SANDERS.
Cowley (Abraham). THE ESSAYS OF ABRAHAM COWLEY. Edited by H. C. MINCHIN.
Crabbe (George). SELECTIONS FROM GEORGE CRABBE. Edited by A. C. DEANE.
Craik (Mrs.). JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN. Edited by ANNIE MATHESON. *Two Volumes.*
Crashaw (Richard). THE ENGLISH POEMS OF RICHARD CRASHAW. Edited by EDWARD HUTTON.
Dante (Alighieri). THE INFERNO OF DANTE. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
THE PARADISO OF DANTE. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
Darley (George). SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF GEORGE DARLEY. Edited by R. A. STREATFEILD.
Deane (A. C.). A LITTLE BOOK OF LIGHT VERSE.
Dickens (Charles). CHRISTMAS BOOKS. *Two Volumes.*
Ferrier (Susan). MARRIAGE. Edited by A. GOODRICH-FREER and LORD IDDESLEIGH. *Two Volumes.*
THE INHERITANCE. *Two Volumes.*
Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. *Second Edition.*
Hawthorne (Nathaniel). THE SCARLET LETTER. Edited by PERCY DEARMER.
Henderson (T. F.). A LITTLE BOOK OF SCOTTISH VERSE.
Keats (John). POEMS. With an Introduction by L. BINYON, and Notes by J. MASEFIELD.
Kinglake (A. W.). EOTHEN. With an Introduction and Notes. *Second Edition.*

[*Continued.*

THE LITTLE LIBRARY—*continued.*

Lamb (Charles). ELIA, AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA. Edited by E. V. LUCAS.

Locker (F.). LONDON LYRICS. Edited by A. D. GODLEY, M.A. A reprint of the First Edition.

Longfellow (H. W.). SELECTIONS FROM LONGFELLOW. Edited by L. M. FAITHFULL.

Marvell (Andrew). THE POEMS OF ANDREW MARVELL. Edited by E. WRIGHT.

Milton (John). THE MINOR POEMS OF JOHN MILTON. Edited by H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Canon of Westminster.

Moir (D. M.). MANSIE WAUCH. Edited by T. F. HENDERSON.

Nichols (J. B. B.). A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH SONNETS.

Rochefoucauld (La). THE MAXIMS OF LA ROCHEFOUCAULD. Translated by Dean STANHOPE. Edited by G. H. POWELL.

Smith (Horace and James). REJECTED ADDRESSES. Edited by A. D. GODLEY, M.A.

Sterne (Laurence). A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY. Edited by H. W. PAUL.

Tennyson (Alfred, Lord). THE EARLY POEMS OF ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. Edited by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A.

IN MEMORIAM. Edited by Canon H. C. BEECHING, M.A.

THE PRINCESS. Edited by ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH.

MAUD. Edited by ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH.

Thackeray (W. M.). VANITY FAIR. Edited by S. GWYNN. *Three Volumes.*

PENDENNIS. Edited by S. GWYNN. *Three Volumes.*

ESMOND. Edited by S. GWYNN.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS. Edited by S. GWYNN.

Vaughan (Henry). THE POEMS OF HENRY VAUGHAN. Edited by EDWARD HUTTON.

Walton (Izaak). THE COMPLEAT ANGLER. Edited by J. BUCHAN.

Waterhouse (Elizabeth). A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. Edited by. *Twelfth Edition.*

Wordsworth (W.). SELECTIONS FROM WORDSWORTH. Edited by NOWELL C. SMITH.

Wordsworth (W.) and **Coleridge (S. T.).** LYRICAL BALLADS. Edited by GEORGE SAMPSON.

The Little Quarto Shakespeare

Edited by W. J. CRAIG. With Introductions and Notes

Pott 16*mo*. *In* 40 *Volumes*. *Leather, price* 1*s*. *net each volume*.

Mahogany Revolving Book Case. 10*s*. *net*.

Miniature Library

Reprints in miniature of a few interesting books which have qualities of humanity, devotion, or literary genius.

EUPHRANOR: A Dialogue on Youth. By Edward FitzGerald. From the edition published by W. Pickering in 1851. *Demy* 32*mo*. *Leather*, 2*s*. *net*.

POLONIUS: or Wise Saws and Modern Instances. By Edward FitzGerald. From the edition published by W. Pickering in 1852. *Demy* 32*mo*. *Leather*, 2*s*. *net*.

THE RUBÁIYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM. By Edward FitzGerald. From the 1st edition of 1859, *Fourth Edition*. *Leather*, 1*s*. *net*.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY. Written by himself. From the edition printed at Strawberry Hill in the year 1764. *Demy* 32*mo*. *Leather*, 2*s*. *net*.

THE VISIONS OF DOM FRANCISCO QUEVEDO VILLEGAS, Knight of the Order of St. James. Made English by R. L. From the edition printed for H. Herringman, 1668. *Leather*. 2*s*. *net*.

POEMS. By Dora Greenwell. From the edition of 1848. *Leather*, 2*s net*

Oxford Biographies

Fcap. 8*vo*. *Each volume, cloth*, 2*s*. 6*d*. *net* ; *leather*, 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

DANTE ALIGHIERI. By Paget Toynbee, M.A., D.Litt. With 12 Illustrations. *Third Edition*.

GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By E. L. S. Horsburgh, M.A. With 12 Illustrations. *Second Edition*.

JOHN HOWARD. By E. C. S. Gibson, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. With 12 Illustrations.

ALFRED TENNYSON. By A. C. BENSON, M.A. With 9 Illustrations. *Second Edition*.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. By I. A. Taylor. With 12 Illustrations.

ERASMUS. By E. F. H. Capey. With 12 Illustrations.

THE YOUNG PRETENDER. By C. S. Terry. With 12 Illustrations.

ROBERT BURNS. By T. F. Henderson. With 12 Illustrations.

CHATHAM. By A. S. M'Dowall. With 12 Illustrations.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By Anna M. Stoddart. With 16 Illustrations.

CANNING. By W. Alison Phillips. With 12 Illustrations.

BEACONSFIELD. By Walter Sichel. With 12 Illustrations.

JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE. By H. G. Atkins. With 16 Illustrations.

FRANÇOIS FENELON. By Viscount St Cyres. With 12 Illustrations.

School Examination Series

Edited by A. M. M. STEDMAN, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

FRENCH EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M. Stedman, M.A. *Fifteenth Edition.*
KEY. *Sixth Edition.* 6s. *net.*

LATIN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M. Stedman, M.A. *Fourteenth Edition.*
KEY. *Sixth Edition.* 6s. *net.*

GREEK EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M. Stedman, M.A. *Ninth Edition.*
KEY. *Fourth Edition.* 6s. *net.*

GERMAN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By R. J. Morich. *Seventh Edition.*
KEY. *Third Edition.* 6s. *net.*

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATION PAPERS. By C. H. Spence, M.A. *Third Edition.*

PHYSICS EXAMINATION PAPERS. By R. E. Steel, M.A., F.C.S.

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M. Stedman, M.A. *Sixth Edition.*
KEY. *Fourth Edition.* 7s. *net.*

EXAMINATION PAPERS IN ENGLISH HISTORY. By J. Tait Plowden-Wardlaw, B.A.

School Histories

Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF WARWICKSHIRE. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF SOMERSET. By Walter Raymond. *Second Edition.*

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF LANCASHIRE. By W. E. Rhodes.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF SURREY. By H. E. Malden, M.A.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX. By V. Plarr and F. W. Walton.

Methuen's Simplified French Texts

Edited by T. R. N. CROFTS, M.A.

One Shilling each.

L'HISTOIRE D'UNE TULIPE. Adapted by T. R. N. Crofts, M.A. *Second Edition.*

ABDALLAH. Adapted by J. A. Wilson.

LE DOCTEUR MATHÉUS. Adapted by W. P. Fuller.

LA BOUILLIE AU MIEL. Adapted by P. B. Ingham.

JEAN VALJEAN. Adapted by F. W. M. Draper.

LA CHANSON DE ROLAND. Adapted by H. Rieu, M.A. *Second Edition.*

MÉMOIRES DE CADICHON. Adapted by J. F. Rhoades.

L'EQUIPAGE DE LA BELLE-NIVERNAISE. Adapted by T. R. N. Crofts. *Second Ed.*

L'HISTOIRE DE PIERRE ET CAMILLE. Adapted by J. B. Patterson.

Methuen's Standard Library

Cloth, 1s. *net; double volumes,* 1s. 6d. *net. Paper,* 6d. *net; double volume,* 1s. *net.*

THE MEDITATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS. Translated by R. Graves.

SENSE AND SENSIBILITY. Jane Austen.

ESSAYS AND COUNSELS and THE NEW ATLANTIS. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam.

RELIGIO MEDICI and URN BURIAL. Sir Thomas Browne. The text collated by A. R. Waller.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. John Bunyan.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edmund Burke.

THE POEMS AND SONGS OF ROBERT BURNS. Double Volume.

THE ANALOGY OF RELIGION, NATURAL AND REVEALED. Joseph Butler.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. T. CHATTERTON.

TOM JONES. Henry Fielding. Treble Vol.

CRANFORD. Mrs. Gaskell.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. E. Gibbon. Text and Notes revised by J. B. Bury. Seven double volumes.

THE CASE IS ALTERED. EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR. EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR. Ben Jonson.

THE POEMS AND PLAYS OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

CYNTHIA'S REVELS. POETASTER. Ben Jonson.

THE POEMS OF JOHN KEATS. Double volume. The Text has been collated by E. de Sélincourt.

ON THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By Thomas à Kempis. Translation by C. Bigg.

A SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE. W. Law.

PARADISE LOST. John Milton.

EIKONOKLASTES AND THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES. John Milton.

UTOPIA AND POEMS. Sir Thomas More.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO. Translated by Sydenham and Taylor. Double Volume. Translation revised by W. H. D. Rouse.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS. Translated by W. Heywood.

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. In 10 volumes.

PRINCIPAL POEMS, 1815-1818. Percy Bysshe Shelley. With an Introduction by C. D. Locock.

THE LIFE OF NELSON. Robert Southey.

THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SELBORNE. Gilbert White.

Textbooks of Science

Edited by G. F. GOODCHILD, M.A., B.Sc., and G. R. MILLS, M.A.

Fully Illustrated.

PRACTICAL MECHANICS. S. H. Wells. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. Part I. W. French, M.A. *Cr. 8vo. Fifth Edition. 1s. 6d.*

PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. Part II. W. French and T. H. Boardman. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

EXAMPLES IN PHYSICS. By C. E. Jackson, B.A. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

TECHNICAL ARITHMETIC AND GEOMETRY. By C. T. Millis, M.I.M.E. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

PLANT LIFE, Studies in Garden and School. By Horace F. Jones, F.C.S. With 320 Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE COMPLETE SCHOOL CHEMISTRY. By F. M. Oldham, B.A. With 126 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE FOR PUPIL TEACHERS. PHYSICS SECTION. By W. T. Clough, A.R.C.S. (Lond.), F.C.S. CHEMISTRY SECTION. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With 2 Plates and 10 Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

EXAMPLES IN ELEMENTARY MECHANICS, Practical, Graphical, and Theoretical. By W. J. Dobbs, M.A. With 51 Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 5s.*

OUTLINES OF PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY. By George Senter, B.Sc. (Lond.), Ph.D. With many Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

AN ORGANIC CHEMISTRY FOR SCHOOLS AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTES. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With many Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

FIRST YEAR PHYSICS. By C. E. Jackson, M.A. With 51 diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

Textbooks of Technology

Edited by G. F. GOODCHILD, M.A., B.Sc., and G. R. MILLS, M.A.

Fully Illustrated.

HOW TO MAKE A DRESS. By J. A. E. Wood. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

CARPENTRY AND JOINERY. By F. C. Webber. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

MILLINERY, THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL. By Clare Hill. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.*

INSTRUCTION IN COOKERY. A. P. THOMSON. *2s. 6d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF TEXTILE DESIGN. By Aldred F. Barker. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

BUILDERS' QUANTITIES. By H. C. Grubb. *Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

RÉPOUSSÉ METAL WORK. By A. C. Horth. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER: An Introduction to the Study of Electrical Engineering. By E. E. Brooks, B.Sc. (Lond.). and W. H. N. James, A.R.C.S., A.I.E.E. *Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

ENGINEERING WORKSHOP PRACTICE. By C. C. Allen. *Cr 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Handbooks of Theology

THE XXXIX. ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. *Sixth Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. By F. B. Jevons. M.A., Litt.D. *Fourth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. By R. L. Ottley, D.D. *Fourth Edition revised. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CREEDS. By A. E. Burn, D.D. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Alfred Caldecott, D.D. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. By J. F. Bethune-Baker, M.A. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

The Westminster Commentaries

General Editor, WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by S. R. Driver, D.D. *Seventh Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

THE BOOK OF JOB. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 6s.*

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Edited by R. B. Rackham, M.A. *Demy 8vo. Fourth Edition. 10s. 6d.*

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. Edited by H. L. Goudge, M.A. *Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 6s.*

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. J. Knowling, D.D. *Demy 8vo. 6s.*

THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL. Edited H. A. Redpath, M.A., D.Litt. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

A COMMENTARY ON EXODUS. By A. H. M'Neile, B.D. With a Map and 3 Plans. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

PART II.—FICTION

Albanesi (E. Maria). SUSANNAH AND ONE OTHER. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE BLUNDER OF AN INNOCENT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
CAPRICIOUS CAROLINE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
LOVE AND LOUISA. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
PETER, A PARASITE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE BROWN EYES OF MARY. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
I KNOW A MAIDEN. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Austen (Jane). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Bagot (Richard). A ROMAN MYSTERY. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE PASSPORT. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
TEMPTATION. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
LOVE'S PROXY. *A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
DONNA DIANA. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
CASTING OF NETS. *Twelfth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Balfour (Andrew). BY STROKE OF SWORD. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Baring-Gould (S.). ARMINELL. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
URITH. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
IN THE ROAR OF THE SEA. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
MARGERY OF QUETHER. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE QUEEN OF LOVE. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
JACQUETTA. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
KITTY ALONE. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
NOÉMI. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE BROOM-SQUIRE. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
DARTMOOR IDYLLS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
GUAVAS THE TINNER. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
BLADYS OF THE STEWPONEY. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
PABO THE PRIEST. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
WINEFRED. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
ROYAL GEORGIE. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
CHRIS OF ALL SORTS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
IN DEWISLAND. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE FROBISHERS. *Crown 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
DOMITIA. Illus. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
MRS. CURGENVEN OF CURGENVEN. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*
LITTLE TU'PENNY. *A New Edition. Medium 8vo. 6d.*
FURZE BLOOM. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Barnett (Edith A.). A WILDERNESS WINNER. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Barr (James). LAUGHING THROUGH A WILDERNESS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Barr (Robert). IN THE MIDST OF ALARMS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE COUNTESS TEKLA. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE MUTABLE MANY. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE TEMPESTUOUS PETTICOAT. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE STRONG ARM. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
JENNIE BAXTER JOURNALIST. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Begbie (Harold). THE CURIOUS AND DIVERTING ADVENTURES OF SIR JOHN SPARROW; or, THE PROGRESS OF AN OPEN MIND. With a Frontispiece. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Belloc (Hilaire), M.P. EMMANUEL BURDEN, MERCHANT. With 36 Illustrations by G. K. CHESTERTON. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Benson (E. F.) DODO: A DETAIL OF THE DAY. *Fifteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE VINTAGE. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Benson (Margaret). SUBJECT TO VANITY. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Birmingham (George A.). THE BAD TIMES. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*
Bowles (G. Stewart). A GUN-ROOM DITTY BOX. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
Bretherton (Ralph Harold). THE MILL. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Brontë (Charlotte). SHIRLEY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Burke (Barbara). BARBARA GOES TO OXFORD. With 16 Illustrations. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Burton (J. Bloundelle). ACROSS THE SALT SEAS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Caffyn (Mrs.) ('Iota'). ANNE MAULEVERER. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Campbell (Mrs. Vere). FERRIBY. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Capes (Bernard). THE EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSIONS OF DIANA PLEASE. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A JAY OF ITALY. *Fourth Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
LOAVES AND FISHES. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A ROGUE'S TRAGEDY. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE GREAT SKENE MYSTERY. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE LAKE OF WINE. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Carey (Wymond). LOVE THE JUDGE. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Castle (Agnes and **Egerton).** FLOWER O' THE ORANGE, and Other Tales. With a Frontispiece in Colour by A. H. Buckland. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Charlton (Randal). MAVE. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE VIRGIN WIDOW. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Chesney (Weatherby). THE TRAGEDY OF THE GREAT EMERALD *Cr.*8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE MYSTERY OF A BUNGALOW. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Clifford (Mrs. W. K.). THE GETTING WELL OF DOROTHY. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*
A FLASH OF SUMMER. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
MRS. KEITH'S CRIME. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Conrad (Joseph). THE SECRET AGENT: A Simple Tale. *Fourth Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Corbett (Julian). A BUSINESS IN GREAT WATERS. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Corelli (Marie). A ROMANCE OF TWO WORLDS. *Twenty-Ninth Ed. Cr.*8*vo.* 6*s.*
VENDETTA. *Twenty-Sixth Ed. Cr.*8*vo.* 6*s.*
THELMA. *Thirty-Ninth Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
ARDATH: THE STORY OF A DEAD SELF. *Eighteenth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE SOUL OF LILITH. *Fifteenth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
WORMWOOD. *Sixteenth Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
BARABBAS: A DREAM OF THE WORLD'S TRAGEDY. *Forty-Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE SORROWS OF SATAN. *Fifty-Fourth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE MASTER CHRISTIAN. *Twelfth Edition.* 177*th Thousand. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
TEMPORAL POWER: A STUDY IN SUPREMACY. 150*th Thousand. Cr.*8*vo.* 6*s*
GOD'S GOOD MAN: A SIMPLE LOVE STORY. *Thirteenth Edition.* 150th Thousand. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE MIGHTY ATOM. *Twenty-seventh Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
BOY: a Sketch. *Tenth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
CAMEOS. *Thirteenth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Cotes (Mrs. Everard). See Sara Jeannette Duncan.
Cotterell (Constance). THE VIRGIN AND THE SCALES. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Crockett (S. R.), Author of 'The Raiders,' etc. LOCHINVAR. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE STANDARD BEARER. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Croker (B. M.). THE OLD CANTONMENT. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
JOHANNA. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
THE HAPPY VALLEY. *Fourth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A NINE DAYS' WONDER. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
PEGGY OF THE BARTONS. *Seventh Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
ANGEL. *Fourth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
A STATE SECRET. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Crosbie (Mary). DISCIPLES. *Second Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Cuthell (Edith E.). ONLY A GUARDROOM DOG. Illustrated by W. PARKINSON. *Crown* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*
Dawson (Warrington). THE SCAR. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE SCOURGE *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Deakin (Dorothea). THE YOUNG COLUMBINE. With a Frontispiece by LEWIS BAUMER. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Deane (Mary). THE OTHER PAWN. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Doyle (A. Conan). ROUND THE RED LAMP. *Eleventh Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Dumas (Alexandre). See page 39.
Duncan (Sara Jeannette) (Mrs. Everard Cotes). THOSE DELIGHTFUL AMERICANS. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
A VOYAGE OF CONSOLATION. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Eliot (George). THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
Erskine (Mrs. Steuart). THE MAGIC PLUMES. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Fenn (G. Manville). SYD BELTON; or, The Boy who would not go to Sea. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. *Second Ed. Cr.* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*
Findlater (J. H.). THE GREEN GRAVES OF BALGOWRIE. *Fifth Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.* Also *Medium* 8*vo.* 6*d.*
THE LADDER TO THE STARS. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Findlater (Mary). A NARROW WAY. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo..* 6*s.*
OVER THE HILLS. *Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
THE ROSE OF JOY. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
A BLIND BIRD'S NEST. With 8 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Fitzpatrick (K.) THE WEANS AT ROWALLAN. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Francis (M. E.). (Mrs. Francis Blundell). STEPPING WESTWARD. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
MARGERY O' THE MILL. *Third Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*
Fraser (Mrs. Hugh). THE SLAKING OF THE SWORD. *Second Edition. Cr.* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

IN THE SHADOW OF THE LORD. *Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Fry (B. and C. B.). A MOTHER'S SON. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Fuller-Maitland (Ella). BLANCHE ESMEAD. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Gallon (Tom). RICKERBY'S FOLLY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

MARY BARTON. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

NORTH AND SOUTH. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Gates (Eleanor). THE PLOW-WOMAN. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Gerard (Dorothea). HOLY MATRIMONY. *Medium 8vo 6d.*

MADE OF MONEY. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE IMPROBABLE IDYL. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE BRIDGE OF LIFE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CONQUEST OF LONDON. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Gissing (George). THE TOWN TRAVELLER. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE CROWN OF LIFE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Glanville (Ernest). THE INCA'S TREASURE. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE KLOOF BRIDE. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Gleig (Charles). BUNTER'S CRUISE. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Grimm (The Brothers). GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES. Illustrated. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Hamilton (M.). THE FIRST CLAIM. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Harraden (Beatrice). IN VARYING MOODS. *Fourteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE SCHOLAR'S DAUGHTER. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

HILDA STRAFFORD and THE REMITTANCE MAN. *Twelfth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Harrod (F.) (Frances Forbes Robertson). THE TAMING OF THE BRUTE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Herbertson (Agnes G.). PATIENCE DEAN. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hichens (Robert). THE PROPHET OF BERKELEY SQUARE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

TONGUES OF CONSCIENCE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

FELIX. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE WOMAN WITH THE FAN. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

BYEWAYS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE GARDEN OF ALLAH. *Seventeenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE BLACK SPANIEL. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CALL OF THE BLOOD. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hope (Anthony). THE GOD IN THE CAR. *Eleventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A CHANGE OF AIR. *Sixth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

A MAN OF MARK. *Fifth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE CHRONICLES OF COUNT ANTONIO. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

PHROSO. Illustrated by H. R. MILLAR. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

SIMON DALE. Illustrated. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE KING'S MIRROR. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

QUISANTE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE DOLLY DIALOGUES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

A SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

TALES OF TWO PEOPLE. With a Frontispiece by A. H. BUCKLAND. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hope (Graham). THE LADY OF LYTE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hornung (E. W.). DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Housman (Clemence). THE LIFE OF SIR AGLOVALE DE GALIS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hueffer (Ford Madox). AN ENGLISH GIRL: A ROMANCE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hutten (Baroness von). THE HALO. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Hyne (C. J. Cutcliffe). MR. HORROCKS, PURSER. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

PRINCE RUPERT, THE BUCCANEER. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Ingraham (J. H.). THE THRONE OF DAVID. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Jacobs (W. W.). MANY CARGOES. *Thirty-first Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

SEA URCHINS. *Fifteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A MASTER OF CRAFT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

LIGHT FREIGHTS. Illustrated by WILL OWEN and Others. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE SKIPPER'S WOOING. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

AT SUNWICH PORT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

DIALSTONE LANE. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

ODD CRAFT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE LADY OF THE BARGE. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

James (Henry). THE SOFT SIDE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE AMBASSADORS. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE GOLDEN BOWL. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Keays (H. A. Mitchell). HE THAT EATETH BREAD WITH ME. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Kester (Vaughan). THE FORTUNES OF THE LANDRAYS. Illustrated. *Cr.8vo. 6s.*

Lawless (Hon. Emily). WITH ESSEX IN IRELAND. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Le Queux (William). THE HUNCHBACK OF WESTMINSTER. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE CROOKED WAY. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CLOSED BOOK. *Third Ed. Cr.8vo.6s.*

THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

BEHIND THE THRONE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Levett-Yeats (S. K.). ORRAIN. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE TRAITOR'S WAY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Linton (E. Lynn). THE TRUE HISTORY OF JOSHUA DAVIDSON. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

London (Jack). WHITE FANG. With a Frontispiece by CHARLES RIVINGSTON BULL. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Lyall (Edna). DERRICK VAUGHAN, NOVELIST. *42nd Thousand. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Maartens (Maarten). THE NEW RELIGION: A MODERN NOVEL. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

M'Carthy (Justin H.). THE LADY OF LOYALTY HOUSE. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE DRYAD. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE DUKE'S MOTTO. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Macdonald (Ronald). A HUMAN TRINITY. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Macnaughtan (S.). THE FORTUNE OF CHRISTINA M'NAB. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Malet (Lucas). COLONEL ENDERBY'S WIFE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION. *New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE WAGES OF SIN. *Sixteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CARISSIMA. *Fifth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE GATELESS BARRIER. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE HISTORY OF SIR RICHARD CALMADY. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Mann (Mrs. M. E.). OLIVIA'S SUMMER. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A LOST ESTATE. *A New Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE PARISH OF HILBY. *A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE PARISH NURSE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

GRAN'MA'S JANE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

MRS. PETER HOWARD. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

A WINTER'S TALE. *A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

ONE ANOTHER'S BURDENS. *A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

ROSE AT HONEYPOT. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THERE WAS ONCE A PRINCE. Illustrated by M. B. MANN. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

WHEN ARNOLD COMES HOME. Illustrated by M. B. MANN. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE EGLAMORE PORTRAITS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE MEMORIES OF RONALD LOVE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE SHEEP AND THE GOATS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A SHEAF OF CORN. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CEDAR STAR. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Marchmont (A. W.). MISER HOADLEY'S SECRET. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

A MOMENT'S ERROR. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Marriott (Charles). GENEVRA. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Marryat (Captain). PETER SIMPLE *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

JACOB FAITHFUL. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Marsh (Richard). THE TWICKENHAM PEERAGE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE MARQUIS OF PUTNEY. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

IN THE SERVICE OF LOVE. *Third. Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE GIRL AND THE MIRACLE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE COWARD BEHIND THE CURTAIN. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A METAMORPHOSIS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE GODDESS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE JOSS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Marshall (Archibald). MANY JUNES. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Mason (A. E. W.). CLEMENTINA. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Mathers (Helen). HONEY. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

GRIFF OF GRIFFITHSCOURT. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE FERRYMAN *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

TALLY-HO! *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

SAM'S SWEETHEART. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Maxwell (W. B.). VIVIEN. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE RAGGED MESSENGER. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

FABULOUS FANCIES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE GUARDED FLAME. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

ODD LENGTHS. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE COUNTESS OF MAYBURY: BETWEEN YOU AND I. Being the Intimate Conversations of the Right Hon. the Countess of Maybury. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Meade (L. T.). DRIFT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d*
RESURGAM. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
VICTORY. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A GIRL OF THE PEOPLE. Illustrated by R. BARNET. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
HEPSY GIPSY. Illustrated by E. HOPKINS. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
THE HONOURABLE MISS: A STORY OF AN OLD-FASHIONED TOWN. Illustrated by E. HOPKINS. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Melton (R.). CÆSAR'S WIFE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Meredith (Ellis). HEART OF MY HEART. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Miller (Esther). LIVING LIES *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Mitford (Bertram). THE SIGN OF THE SPIDER. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
IN THE WHIRL OF THE RISING. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE RED DERELICT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Molesworth (Mrs.). THE RED GRANGE. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Montgomery (K. L.). COLONEL KATE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Montresor (F. F.). THE ALIEN. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Morrison (Arthur). TALES OF MEAN STREETS. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
A CHILD OF THE JAGO. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE HOLE IN THE WALL. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
TO LONDON TOWN. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
DIVERS VANITIES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Nesbit (E.). (Mrs. H. Bland). THE RED HOUSE. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Norris (W. E.). HARRY AND URSULA: A STORY WITH TWO SIDES TO IT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
HIS GRACE. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
GILES INGILBY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE CREDIT OF THE COUNTY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
LORD LEONARD THE LUCKLESS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
MATTHEW AUSTIN. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
CLARISSA FURIOSA. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Oliphant (Mrs.). THE LADY'S WALK. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
SIR ROBERT'S FORTUNE. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE PRODIGALS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE TWO MARYS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Ollivant (Alfred). OWD BOB, THE GREY DOG OF KENMUIR. With a Frontispiece. *Eleventh Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Oppenheim (E. Phillips). MASTER OF MEN. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Oxenham (John). A WEAVER OF WEBS. With 8 Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE GATE OF THE DESERT. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
PROFIT AND LOSS. With a Frontispiece in photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE LONG ROAD. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Pain (Barry). LINDLEY KAYS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Parker (Gilbert). PIERRE AND HIS PEOPLE. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
MRS. FALCHION. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE TRANSLATION OF A SAVAGE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD. Illustrated. *Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
WHEN VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC: The Story of a Lost Napoleon. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
AN ADVENTURER OF THE NORTH. The Last Adventures of 'Pretty Pierre.' *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY. Illustrated. *Sixteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE BATTLE OF THE STRONG: a Romance of Two Kingdoms. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE POMP OF THE LAVILETTES. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Pemberton (Max). THE FOOTSTEPS OF A THRONE. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
I CROWN THEE KING. With Illustrations by Frank Dadd and A. Forrestier. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
Phillpotts (Eden). LYING PROPHETS *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
CHILDREN OF THE MIST. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE HUMAN BOY. With a Frontispiece *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
SONS OF THE MORNING. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE RIVER. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*
THE AMERICAN PRISONER. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE SECRET WOMAN. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
KNOCK AT A VENTURE. With a Frontispiece. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE PORTREEVE. *Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
THE POACHER'S WIFE. *Second Edition Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE STRIKING HOURS. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

THE FOLK AFIELD. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Pickthall (Marmaduke). SAID THE FISHERMAN. *Seventh Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

BRENDLE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE HOUSE OF ISLAM. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

'Q' (A. T. Quiller Couch). THE WHITE WOLF. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE MAYOR OF TROY. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

MERRY-GARDEN AND OTHER STORIES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

MAJOR VIGOUREUX. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Rawson (Maud Stepney). THE ENCHANTED GARDEN. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Rhys (Grace). THE WOOING OF SHEILA. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Ridge (W. Pett). LOST PROPERTY. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

ERB. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A SON OF THE STATE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

A BREAKER OF LAWS. *A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

MRS. GALER'S BUSINESS. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE WICKHAMSES. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

NAME OF GARLAND. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

GEORGE and THE GENERAL. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Ritchie (Mrs. David G.). MAN AND THE CASSOCK. *Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

Roberts (C. G. D.). THE HEART OF THE ANCIENT WOOD. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Robins (Elizabeth). THE CONVERT. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Rosenkrantz (Baron Palle). THE MAGISTRATE'S OWN CASE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Russell (W. Clark). MY DANISH SWEETHEART. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

HIS ISLAND PRINCESS. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

ABANDONED. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

MASTER ROCKAFELLAR'S VOYAGE. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

A MARRIAGE AT SEA. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Ryan (Marah Ellis). FOR THE SOUL OF RAFAEL. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Sergeant (Adeline). THE MYSTERY OF THE MOAT. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE PASSION OF PAUL MARILLIER. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

THE QUEST OF GEOFFREY DARRELL. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE COMING OF THE RANDOLPHS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE PROGRESS OF RACHAEL. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

BARBARA'S MONEY. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE MASTER OF BEECHWOOD. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE YELLOW DIAMOND. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE LOVE THAT OVERCAME. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Shannon (W. F.). THE MESS DECK. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Shelley (Bertha). ENDERBY. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred). THE KINSMAN. With 8 Illustrations by C. E. BROCK. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Smith (Dorothy V. Horace). MISS MONA. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Sonnichsen (Albert). DEEP-SEA VAGABONDS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Sunbury (George). THE HA'PENNY MILLIONAIRE. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Surtees (R. S.). HANDLEY CROSS. Illustrated. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. Illustrated. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

ASK MAMMA. Illus. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Urquhart (M.), A TRAGEDY IN COMMONPLACE. *Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Vorst (Marie Van). THE SENTIMENTAL ADVENTURES OF JIMMY BULSTRODE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Waineman (Paul). THE BAY OF LILACS: A Romance from Finland. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE SONG OF THE FOREST. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Walford (Mrs. L. B.). MR. SMITH. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE BABY'S GRANDMOTHER. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

COUSINS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Wallace (General Lew). BEN-HUR. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

THE FAIR GOD. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Watson (H. B. Marriott). CAPTAIN FORTUNE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

TWISTED EGLANTINE. With 8 Illustrations by FRANK CRAIG. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE HIGH TOBY: Being further Chapters in the Life and Fortunes of Dick Ryder, otherwise Galloping Dick, sometime Gentleman of the Road. With a Frontispiece by CLAUDE SHEPPERSON. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A MIDSUMMER DAY'S DREAM. *Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

THE PRIVATEERS. With 8 Illustrations by CYRUS CUNEO. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A POPPY SHOW: BEING DIVERS AND DIVERSE TALES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE ADVENTURERS. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Weekes (A. B.). THE PRISONERS OF WAR. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Wells (H. G.). THE SEA LADY. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.* Also *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Weyman (Stanley). UNDER THE RED ROBE. With Illustrations by R. C. WOODVILLE. *Twenty-Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

White (Percy). THE SYSTEM. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

A PASSIONATE PILGRIM. *Medium 8vo. 6d.*

Williams (Margery). THE BAR. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Williamson (Mrs. C. N.). THE ADVENTURE OF PRINCESS SYLVIA. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE WOMAN WHO DARED. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE SEA COULD TELL. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CASTLE OF THE SHADOWS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

PAPA. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Williamson (C. N. and A. M.). THE LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR: The Strange Adventures of a Motor Car. With 16 Illustrations. *Seventeenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE PRINCESS PASSES: A Romance of a Motor. With 16 Illustrations. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

MY FRIEND THE CHAUFFEUR. With 16 Illustrations. *Tenth Edit. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

LADY BETTY ACROSS THE WATER. *Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE CAR OF DESTINY AND ITS ERRAND IN SPAIN. With 17 Illustrations. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

THE BOTOR CHAPERON. With a Frontispiece in Colour by A. H. BUCKLAND, 16 other Illustrations, and a Map. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

SCARLET RUNNER. With a Frontispiece in Colour by A. H. BUCKLAND, and 8 other Illustrations. *Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Wyllarde (Dolf). THE PATHWAY OF THE PIONEER (Nous Autres). *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Yeldham (C. C.). DURHAM'S FARM. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

Books for Boys and Girls

Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE GETTING WELL OF DOROTHY. By Mrs. W. K. Clifford. *Second Edition.*

ONLY A GUARD-ROOM DOG. By Edith E. Cuthell.

MASTER ROCKAFELLAR'S VOYAGE. By W. Clark Russell. *Third Edition.*

SYD BELTON: Or, the Boy who would not go to Sea. By G. Manville Fenn. *Second Ed.*

THE RED GRANGE. By Mrs. Molesworth.

A GIRL OF THE PEOPLE. By L. T. Meade. *Fourth Edition.*

HEPSY GIPSY. By L. T. Meade. *2s. 6d.*

THE HONOURABLE MISS. By L. T. Meade. *Second Edition.*

THERE WAS ONCE A PRINCE. By Mrs. M. E. Mann.

WHEN ARNOLD COMES HOME. By Mrs. M. E. Mann.

The Novels of Alexandre Dumas

Medium 8vo. Price 6d. Double Volumes, 1s.

COMPLETE LIST ON APPLICATION.

Methuen's Sixpenny Books

Medium 8vo.

Albanesi (E. Maria). LOVE AND LOUISA.
I KNOW A MAIDEN.
Austen (J.). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE.
Bagot (Richard). A ROMAN MYSTERY.
CASTING OF NETS.
Balfour (Andrew). BY STROKE OF SWORD.
Baring-Gould (S.). FURZE BLOOM.
CHEAP JACK ZITA.
KITTY ALONE.
URITH.
THE BROOM SQUIRE.
IN THE ROAR OF THE SEA.
NOÉMI.
A BOOK OF FAIRY TALES. Illustrated.
LITTLE TU'PENNY.
WINEFRED.
THE FROBISHERS.
THE QUEEN OF LOVE.
Barr (Robert). JENNIE BAXTER.
IN THE MIDST OF ALARMS.
THE COUNTESS TEKLA.
THE MUTABLE MANY.
Benson (E. F.). DODO.
THE VINTAGE.
Brontë (Charlotte). SHIRLEY.
Brownell (C. L.). THE HEART OF JAPAN.
Burton (J. Bloundelle). ACROSS THE SALT SEAS.
Caffyn (Mrs.). ANNE MAULEVERER.

Capes (Bernard). THE LAKE OF WINE.
Clifford (Mrs. W. K.). A FLASH OF SUMMER.
MRS. KEITH'S CRIME.
Corbett (Julian). A BUSINESS IN GREAT WATERS.
Croker (Mrs. B. M.). ANGEL.
A STATE SECRET.
PEGGY OF THE BARTONS.
JOHANNA.
Dante (Alighieri). THE DIVINE COMEDY (Cary).
Doyle (A. Conan). ROUND THE RED LAMP.
Duncan (Sara Jeannette). A VOYAGE OF CONSOLATION.
THOSE DELIGHTFUL AMERICANS.
Eliot (George). THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.
Findlater (Jane H.). THE GREEN GRAVES OF BALGOWRIE.
Gallon (Tom). RICKERBY'S FOLLY.
Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD.
MARY BARTON.
NORTH AND SOUTH.
Gerard (Dorothea). HOLY MATRIMONY.
THE CONQUEST OF LONDON.
MADE OF MONEY.
Gissing (G). THE TOWN TRAVELLER.
THE CROWN OF LIFE.
Glanville (Ernest). THE INCA'S TREASURE.
THE KLOOF BRIDE.
Gleig (Charles). BUNTER'S CRUISE.
Grimm (The Brothers). GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES.
Hope (Anthony). A MAN OF MARK.
A CHANGE OF AIR.
THE CHRONICLES OF COUNT ANTONIO.
PHROSO.
THE DOLLY DIALOGUES.
Hornung (E. W.). DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.
Ingraham (J. H.). THE THRONE OF DAVID.
Le Queux (W.). THE HUNCHBACK OF WESTMINSTER.
Levett-Yeats (S. K.). THE TRAITOR'S WAY.
Linton (E. Lynn). THE TRUE HISTORY OF JOSHUA DAVIDSON.
Lyall (Edna). DERRICK VAUGHAN.
Malet (Lucas). THE CARISSIMA.
A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION.
Mann (Mrs.). MRS. PETER HOWARD.
A LOST ESTATE.
THE CEDAR STAR.
ONE ANOTHER'S BURDENS.
Marchmont (A. W.). MISER HOADLEY'S SECRET.
A MOMENT'S ERROR.
Marryat (Captain). PETER SIMPLE.
JACOB FAITHFUL.
Marsh (Richard). A METAMORPHOSIS.
THE TWICKENHAM PEERAGE.
THE GODDESS.
THE JOSS.
Mason (A. E. W.). CLEMENTINA.
Mathers (Helen). HONEY.
GRIFF OF GRIFFITHSCOURT
SAM'S SWEETHEART.
Meade (Mrs. L. T.). DRIFT.
Mitford (Bertram). THE SIGN OF THE SPIDER.
Montresor (F. F.). THE ALIEN.
Morrison (Arthur). THE HOLE IN THE WALL.
Nesbit (E.) THE RED HOUSE.
Norris (W. E.). HIS GRACE.
GILES INGILBY.
THE CREDIT OF THE COUNTY.
LORD LEONARD THE LUCKLESS.
MATTHEW AUSTIN.
CLARISSA FURIOSA.
Oliphant (Mrs.). THE LADY'S WALK.
SIR ROBERT'S FORTUNE.
THE PRODIGALS.
THE TWO MARYS.
Oppenheim (E. P.). MASTER OF MEN.
Parker (Gilbert). THE POMP OF THE LAVILETTES.
WHEN VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC.
THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD.
Pemberton (Max). THE FOOTSTEPS OF A THRONE.
I CROWN THEE KING.
Phillpotts (Eden). THE HUMAN BOY.
CHILDREN OF THE MIST.
THE POACHER'S WIFE.
THE RIVER.
'Q' (A. T. Quiller Couch). THE WHITE WOLF.
Ridge (W. Pett). A SON OF THE STATE.
LOST PROPERTY.
GEORGE and THE GENERAL.
Russell (W. Clark). ABANDONED.
A MARRIAGE AT SEA.
MY DANISH SWEETHEART.
HIS ISLAND PRINCESS.
Sergeant (Adeline). THE MASTER OF BEECHWOOD.
BARBARA'S MONEY.
THE YELLOW DIAMOND.
THE LOVE THAT OVERCAME.
Surtees (R. S.). HANDLEY CROSS.
MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR.
ASK MAMMA.
Walford (Mrs. L. B.). MR. SMITH.
COUSINS.
THE BABY'S GRANDMOTHER.
Wallace (General Lew). BEN-HUR.
THE FAIR GOD.
Watson (H. B. Marriott). THE ADVENTURERS.
Weekes (A. B.). PRISONERS OF WAR.
Wells (H. G.). THE SEA LADY.
White (Percy). A PASSIONATE PILGRIM.

Date Due

BR 743 H3 v.4 GTU
Gee, Henry,
The reformation period

BR 743 H3 v.4 GTU
Gee, Henry,
The reformation period

Graduate Theological Union
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709

DEMCO

GTU Library
BR743 .H3 v.4 G
Gee, Henry/The reformation period
3 2400 00074 5780

IDEAL BOOKSTORE
1125 Amsterdam Ave.
Opp. Columbia Univ.
New York 25, N. Y.